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IMAGES OF INUIT AND DENE *DRAMATIS PERSONAE* PORTRAYED IN THE JOURNALS OF EXPEDITIONS TO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES' AREA PRIOR TO 1880

by

©

ALDRICH JAMES DYER

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Images of Inuit and Dene Dramatis Personae as portrayed in the Journals of Expeditions to the Northwest Territories' Area to 1880," submitted by Aldrich J. Dyer in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Foundations.

Harry Garfinkle
Supervisor

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C. S. Mackinnon

Paul Robinson
External Examiner

Date July 9, 1980

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the students and staff of four teacher education programs with whom I had the honour to work: The Northwest Territories' Teacher Education Program, The Indian Teacher Education Program (Saskatchewan), The Northern Teacher Education Program (Northern Saskatchewan), and The Indian and Northern Education Program (University of Saskatchewan).

In particular, the students of the 1968-1972 Fort Smith-Yellowknife group lovingly and wisely set me on a path for which I will ever be grateful.

ABSTRACT

This study examined the images of Inuit and Dene _dramatis personae_ portrayed in the journals of expeditions to the Northwest Territories' area prior to 1880.

Of the 1044 expeditions to Northern Canada during the period c1000 to 1920, 72 expeditions had prolonged contact with Inuit or Dene people from 1000 to 1880. Seventy-seven journals by leaders, participating crew members or appointed editors described events that occurred on the selected expeditions. Thirty-seven selected journals from 1880-1925 had materials which commented on preceding expeditions and these comments were utilized.

The journals utilized described images of Inuit and Dene _dramatis personae_ plus the journal author's general impression of the native people encountered. This study identified the _personae_, described their activities, characteristics and contributions as given by the authors and critically examined the journal authors' frame of reference. This produced the primary images. Later visitors paraphrased Inuit or Dene versions of events and brought new evidence and points of view which shed new light on the actual events of the specific expedition. These secondary images were described and commented on. The end result was a series of corrected images that were connected into a narrative that gave account of what happened in Inuit and Dene communities during the contact period. Certain individuals emerged as leaders in their own communities, as contributors to the success or failure of

expeditions, and as initiators of movements in their own communities. The effects of the expeditions on indigenous populations plus the reverse effects were examined. The fact that most of the evidence came from non-native sources or was transmitted via English is a serious limitation of the study.

Three hundred and twenty-one Inuit and Dene personae were identified. The nature of the study gave marked preponderance to 234 Inuit whereas only 81 Dene were identified.

The images of Inuit and Dene held by the authors of journals changed as new authors described later expeditions or gave new evidence on earlier ones. The study traces the change in these images through times of contact with Norse, fur trader, whaler, missionary and the professional "explorer."

Both Dene and Inuit had active "oral traditions." Such events as Frobisher's loss of five men, Jens Munk's stay at Churchill and Knight's wreck at Marble Island demonstrate the activity and efficiency of this transmission. The oral testimony of the Inuit made possible the discovery of the fate of Franklin's last expedition.

Not only did Inuit and Dene guide the visitors to the latter's selected geographic spots but the first maps of areas were drawn by indigenous people on either skin, bark, snow or sand.

Without Inuit and Dene technology, the visitors found it almost impossible to live or travel on land or ice. Clothing, food and shelter were all provided at various times to the newcomer. Protection, transport, hunting, advice on sites and routes, rescue efforts and medical advice were services provided to fur trader, whaler, missionary or traveller. The native sometimes served as middleman, contractor or convert.

During the 880 years of contact to 1880, the people who came to inhabit Greenland had close connection with Northern Canada. Almost simultaneously, Inuit and Norse colonies were established in Greenland but the Norse colony disappeared whereas the Inuit colonies endured and even flourished. Almost every sea expedition took on supplies, dogs, hunters or interpreters at Greenland ports before continuing in Arctic waters.

Europeans, in each of the six regions delineated by the study, found it necessary to ally themselves with the Inuit or Dene in order to insure the success of their enterprises. Norse and Elizabethan spurned the Inuit but increasingly after 1670 first fur trader then whaler and later missionary sought aid from the northern native. Even the professional traveller came tardily to recognize the need for seeking native help.

Competition marked trading and missionary work. While competition existed, native groups supported the variety of factions. A friendly reception generally characterized the latter period of the contact.

Once begun, the contact was continuous, the players on the European side, however, were freely substituted. Less than one hundred individuals from Europe were residing in the Northwest Territories' region by the 1880's. The visitors tended not to stay for long periods of time.

This study includes material that students and teachers can utilize in northern and Canadian classrooms. The study seeks to include materials dealing with former and present inhabitants and their lives.

It underlines the fact that history in Northern Canada did not begin with the coming of the Europeans. The full account of events has not yet been written. The study suggests one source in the recovery of the story. Knowing the Dene and Inuit languages and cultures opens another source -- the oral tradition and testimony. Students of the Northwest Territories' area are enjoined to use both sources.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe much for the encouragement and advice given by Dr. Harry Garfinkle and my thesis committee members. The Department of Educational Foundations has been most supportive of my efforts.

The Government of the Northwest Territories allowed two years of educational leave and the University of Saskatchewan granted one year of educational leave. My colleagues in the Indian and Northern Education Program and in the University of Saskatchewan Education faculty were particularly encouraging and supportive.

Ms. Catherine Littlejohn gave needed criticism and advice. Mrs. Beryl McCullough provided typing service and Mrs. Phyllis Smith gave both encouragement and original typing. The Adam Shortt Library staff gave great aid in providing access to journals.

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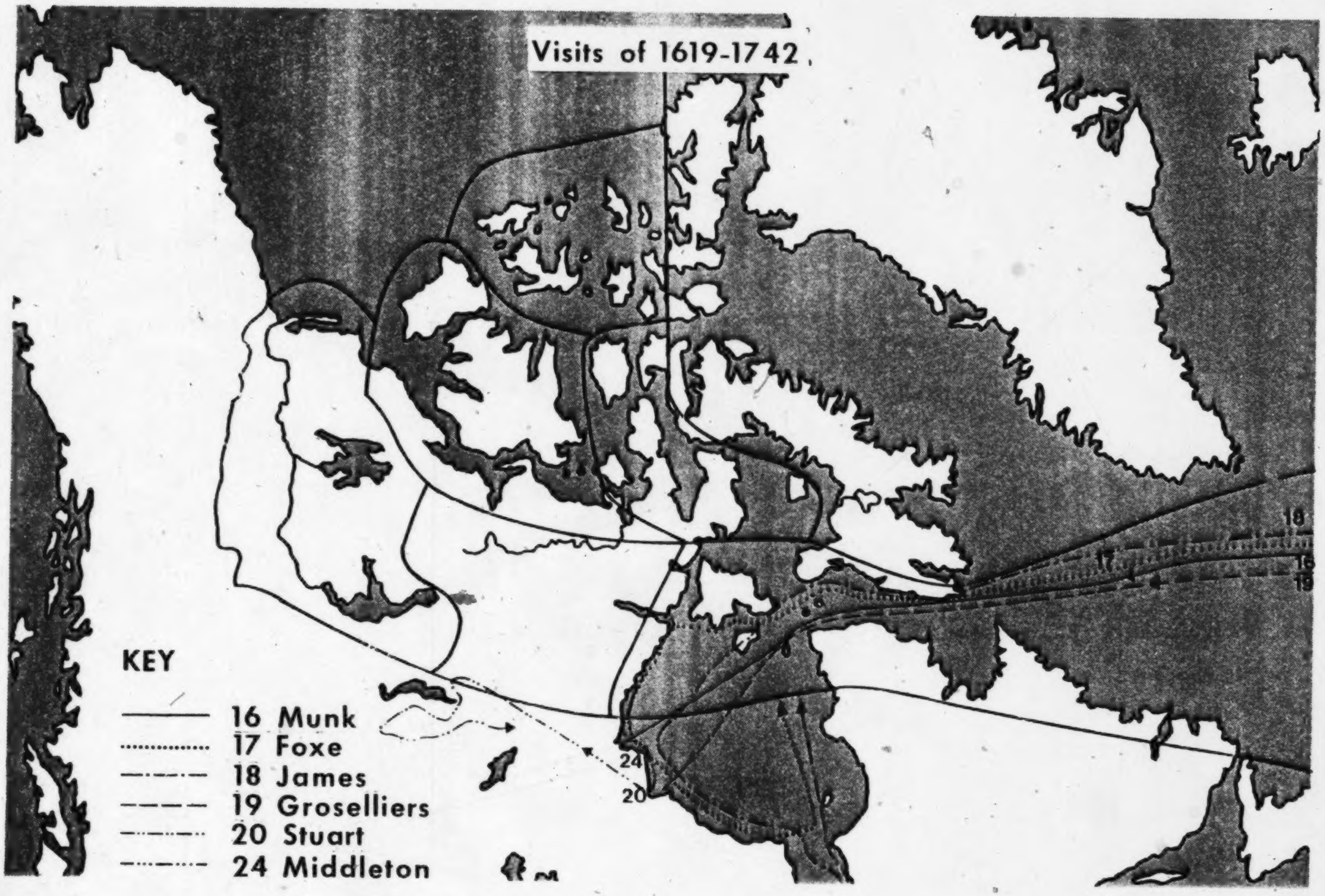
"I believe it would be generally conceded that the ultimate purpose of all humane studies, including history, must be the evocation of the true image of what man is, what he once was, and what he may yet become."*

*Alfred G. Bailey, "Retrospective Thoughts of an Ethnohistorian." Historical Papers, 1977, Canadian Historical Association, p. 25.


Visits of 1619-1742
KEY
16 Munk
17 Foxe
18 James
19 Grosselliers
20 Stuart
24 Middleton
18
17
16
19
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CHAPTER 1

ABOUT THE STUDY

Introduction

In the beginning, the Raven circled in space. Snow fell and gathered heavily on Raven's wings. Because Raven was tiring, he lowered one wing. The ball of snow rolled down to this wing. When Raven lifted this wing, the snow ball now formed, rolled down to the other. This happened a number of times. Finally, the ball became so huge that it rolled off the Raven's wing and fell into space. Raven, tired now, found he could rest on the ball. When Raven looked down at his feet, he saw a shining object. This he picked up and threw over his left shoulder and it became the sun. Raven saw a second shiny object at his feet. This he threw over his right shoulder and it became the moon. The ball on which he rested was, of course, the earth.[1]

Thus, the world began so say the Inuit elders. The Inuit as all other peoples on earth have a tradition of wisdom which explains the seemingly inexplicable. They possess ingenious stories to explain how things came to be. The Inuit, like other North American native people, have a rich oral tradition. Through the medium of language, they retain the knowledge of the world contained in the stories of their elders and pride in the deeds of the people who went before them.

---

[1] Tale told by Bill Goose, Inuvik, who attributes it to his Inuit grandmother.

The oral tradition of the native people had been left out of the written history of Canada. Whether the oral tradition becomes part of the written tradition or not is for the native people to decide. For Canadians seeking to understand the story of the original peoples of Canada, the recreation must await the native submission of their side of the story.

Inuit and Dene are conscious, too, of the image that is assigned to them in existing, written Canadian History. In testimony before the Mackenzie Pipeline Inquiry of 1977, Richard Nerysoo, a Kutchin, read the citation to be posted at the federally designated historic site at Fort McPherson, July 3, 1975. Nerysoo made the following statement:

> When I went to school in Fort McPherson I can remember being taught that Indians were savages. We were violent, cruel and uncivilized. I remember reading history books that glorified the white man who slaughtered whole nations of Indian people. No one called the white man savages, they were heroes who explored new horizons or conquered new frontiers . . . That kind of thinking is still going on today . . .
>
> But what events does the federal government consider history? Let me read you the text that they propose for the plaque. It is in both English and French, but I will read the English . . .
>
> "In 1840 John Bell of the Hudson's Bay Company built the first Fort McPherson . . . it was for over fifty years the principal trading post in the Mackenzie Delta region and, after 1860, a centre of missionary activity. In 1903 Inspector Charles Constantine established the first R.N.W.M.P. post in the Western Arctic here. In the winter of 1898-99 a number of overlanders tried to use Fort McPherson as a base to reach the Klondike."
>
> Where are we mentioned on this plaque? Where is there mention of any of our history? The history of the Peel River people did not begin in 1840. We have been here a long, long time before that, yet we get no mention. Does the federal government not consider us to be human too? Do they think we don't make history?
>
> The date on this proposed text . . . is July 3, 1975 -- not

> 1875, but 1975, today. Our history and culture has been ignored and shoved aside.[2]

Nerysoo claims that the 1977 federal government has an image of the Peel River people that is akin to Lord Durham's phrase used to describe French Canadians, "that they were a people without a history."

Canadian professional historians will often admit that "Canadian history is conceived primarily as the spread of European civilization across northern North America."[3] G. F. C. Stanley says that:

> Ever since the day Christopher Columbus landed on the shores of San Salvador, the Indian has been one of the principal actors upon the stage of [North] American history. Today his role, in Canada at least, may be limited to a walk on part, but he has never been dropped from the cast.[4]

E. Palmer Patterson states that many Canadians had adopted the view that the Indians of Canada in the Nineteenth Century "had ceased to be of economic importance" and "were not needed in any capacity" and that the history that Canadians read would tend to reinforce this view.[5] Further, James Walker declares:

> The picture of the Indian as a human being that is presented by writers of Canadian history is confusing, contradictory and incomplete - clearly he is not often considered to be deserving

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[2] Thomas Berger, Northern Frontier: Northern Homeland. The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Vol. 1 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, Canada, 1977), p. 91.

[3] "Proposal for History 106. Canadian History for the Indian Student from Earliest Times to the Present Day," (Saskatoon: History Department, College of Arts and Science, University of Saskatchewan, 1978).

[4] G. F. C. Stanley, "The Indian Background of Canadian History," The Canadian Historical Association Report, 1952, pp. 14-21.

[5] E. Palmer Patterson II, The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500 (Don Mills: Collier MacMillan Canada Ltd., 1972), p. 25.

of serious attention or his society of scholarly analysis.[6]

All these contentions are extremely serious. They all lead to the question of what should be included in a reconstituted, reconstructed history of the Northwest Territories. Is it possible to construct a written history in which the native people get representation and yet the historical facts and their interpretation can withstand rigorous, critical scrutiny? Where are the sources from which the story can be gleaned? One source is suggested in this study -- the journals of expeditions to the Northwest Territories' area to 1880.

Expeditions have journeyed to northern Canada since the Norse visits of 1000 A.D. Those who have visited invariably have written accounts of what transacted on these voyages. These journals of the expeditions commented on the Inuit and Dene individuals who participated in the expeditionary activities. The "who," "why," "how," "where," and "when" of the Inuit and Dene were observed and recorded by the leader or participating member of the expedition. Journals of subsequent expeditions made comment on the earlier expeditions. If all these accounts be taken together, secondary images or impressions of the Inuit and Dene individuals emerge.

Each journal produced images of the natives involved. But each image had flaws influenced by bias and produced by the frame of reference of the author and his times. There is enough in each image that, when taken in accord with the secondary image, when compared with the images defined by the Inuit and Dene, can portray a corrected image. It is to seek to identify the primary and secondary images of Inuit and Dene by journal authors that is the purpose of this study. By analysis, the flaws in the image can be revealed and the reasons for the flaws described. This leads to a corrected image which then could form the basis for a corrected history. Identifying the images and indicating their flaws is but the first step in producing a corrected history. It is with this first step that this study is concerned. Steps that follow require other studies. The corrected history will still await its narrator.

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[6] James Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing," Canadian Historical Review (Canadian Historical Association, 1971), pp. 21-51.

The authors of journals of expeditions to the Northwest Territories' area depicted the inhabitants and described their lifeways. As time progressed, later authors gave not only their own renditions but included the views and the stories of the inhabitants. This later inclusion indicates the authors' willingness to attempt as accurate a picture as possible. It also is an indication that authors were haunted by the problem of historiography, i.e., the place of mythology, the oral tradition, and vernacular reports in a history which largely depends upon written documentation. Can a people who do not have a language that has written symbols have a history?

Claude Levi-Strauss claims that such peoples do have a history and that,

> . . . by studying carefully this history [oral tradition and mythology] in the general sense of the word, which contemporary Indian authors try to give us of their own past, by not considering this history as a fanciful account, but by trying extremely carefully, with the help of a type of salvage archaeology - excavating village sites referred to in the histories - and by trying to establish correspondences, inasmuch as this is possible, between different accounts, and by trying to find what really corresponds and what does not

> correspond, we may in the end reach a better understanding of what historical science really is.[7]

Levi-Strauss concludes,

> . . . the gap which exists in our mind to some extent between mythology and history can probably be breached by studying histories which are not conceived as not at all separated from but as a continuation of mythology.[8]

The sagas of the Vikings or Norsemen plus the writings of Sir Martin Frobisher, John Davis, Luke Fox, on to Knud Rasmussen, all give reports of both the mythology and the oral tradition, as if to instinctively balance the author's own impressions. Granted, the author is reporting the oral tradition through his own words, and in all probability utilizing sections of the oral tradition to buttress his own argument to create an image.

Indeed, in examining the accounts by Europeans of first meeting the inhabitants of the Americas, the problem of the Icelandic Oral Tradition rears its head. Gathorne:Hardy writes,

> The written word remains, even though contradicted and disproved; nay, it may not infrequently survive its contradiction. The verbal narrator of contemporary events, however, is always liable to have among his audience those who are as thoroughly conversant with the facts described as he is himself. As inaccuracy may be suddenly and unpleasantly brought to book; the lie is no sooner uttered than it is denounced and exposed.[9]

Gathorne:Hardy gives a number of examples of the consequences of inaccuracy to a "teller of tales" in Icelandic history just as Edward

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[7] Claude Levi-Strauss, Myth and Meaning (Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 42.

[8] Ibid., p. 43.

[9] G. M. Gathorne:Hardy, The Norse Discoverers of America: The Wineland Sagas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 89.

Ahenakew in Voices of the Plains Cree says that "the Old Men dared not lie for they were aware of the need to guard their own authenticity and durst not incur the ridicule of the community for an error."[10]

This problem of the "oral tradition" versus "written history" is a recurring one. This thesis is concerned with the marriage of the two with the aim of arriving at a broader, more objective history but the theme recurs throughout.

The Problem

The problem in this study is to examine the images of Inuit and Dene *dramatis personae* portrayed in the journals of expeditions to the Northwest Territories' area prior to 1880.

Some Definitions

1. The Inuit and Dene are the peoples who lived within the confines of the 1979 boundaries of the Northwest Territories. The Dene, within these confines, are Athapaskan speaking peoples and are grouped for purposes of this study into Chipewyan, Dogrib, Slave, Hare, Kutchin and Yellowknife. The Inuit are Inuktitut speaking and classified into Polar, Igloolik, Netsilik, Copper, Caribou, and Mackenzie divisions.

2. The *dramatis personae* are the Inuit or Dene individuals or groups who are mentioned in the journals as playing an active role in activities observed or participated in by members of expeditions.

3. Alan Cooke and Clive Holland define "expedition" thus:

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[10] Ibid., pp. 91-93.

> The word "expedition" is used in a broad sense: it includes geographic discoveries, the collection of scientific information, and even many journeys of no particular importance that, nevertheless, resulted in some form of publication.[11]

What makes the definition useful is the tacking of "voyage" to "publication." The Inuit and Dene individuals and groups mentioned in the journals and the manner in which they are mentioned are the focus of this study.

4. When the visitor had contact with Inuit and Dene, the visitor returned with an image or memory of the characteristics and actions of the people they had seen. The image of the Dene and Inuit was a simile or metaphor produced by the mind and stimulated by the senses. The journal author retained this image and attempted to communicate that image to others through the journal. The first person to write about the visit formed primary images while those authors who visited later and who wrote about the same expedition formed secondary images. These secondary images contain what the authors could glean from the Inuit and Dene remembrance of things past.

5. The images of the Inuit and Dene had been retained by one generation transmitting via the "oral tradition" to another generation. Franz Boas, himself one of the visitors to the Baffin Inuit, states that ". . . oral data in a way is an autobiography of the tribe."[12] The oral tradition is the collective memory of an incident that the elders of that

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[11] Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, The Exploration of Northern Canada: 500 to 1920: A Chronology (Toronto: Arctic History Press, 1978), p. 7.

[12] E. J. Lindgren, "The Collecting and Analysis of Folk Lore," The Study of Society: Methods and Problems (London: Kegan, Paul French, Lurbner Co., 1939), p. 330.

people could recount when asked. The oral tradition has its own mechanics of production, factor of correction for accuracy and form of communication that could be compared to those of documentary history.

Limitations of the Study

1. This study does not claim to reconstruct a history of the Northwest Territories but outlines some of the data available from the journals which could be utilized to form one. The study identifies and describes the images from the journals. The images reported are the product of the journal author's mind.

2. The oral tradition given is that reported by the journal authors and is thus subject to problems of communication through interpreters, expression of the thought in a foreign language (English), and the biases of the reporting author.

3. Only English language versions or English translations of the originals are used in the study.

Delimitations

1. c1000 to 1880 is the time frame utilized for choice of expeditions in the study. It is the time period when the majority of first contacts were made. Expeditions, however, from 1880 to 1925 are also referred to because writers of journals of that period make reference to the earlier ones and record their versions of what the Inuit and Dene stated they remembered about earlier expeditions. These later journals are utilized because they give new dimensions to the image and could have been based on new facts supplied by the Inuit and Dene.

2. The boundaries of the area include the 1979 area of the

Northwest Territories and certain bases for the expeditions such as Greenland, Churchill, Lake Athabasca and Alaska.

Assumptions

Nerysoo asserts that history should include the story of his people. This argument is echoed everywhere in the Mackenzie area. Judge Berger reinforces this statement:

> . . . they [the Dene] are proclaiming that they are a distinct people, who share a common historical experience, a common set of values and a common world view. They want their children and their children's children to be secure in that same knowledge of who they are and where they came from. They want their own experience, traditions and values to occupy an honourable place in the contemporary life of our country.[13]

1. It is assumed that this common desire is that of all Dene and that the Inuit have the same desire about their traditions.

But "What history? What culture?" Admittedly, the real history of the individuals and groups in the area has not been defined nor perhaps can it ever be fully retrieved. Carl Becker says:

> Let us then admit that there are two histories: the actual series of events that once occurred, and the ideal series that we affirm and hold in memory. The first is absolute and unchanged - it is what it was, whatever we do or say about it; the second is relative, always changing in response to the increase or refinement of knowledge.[14]

The cleavage between the two histories is made all the greater when an "outsider," who does not understand the languages involved nor has lived within the culture, attempts to bridge the gap. Such investigator can only, as Keith Crowe suggests in his preface, live in hope that present endeavours serve as a source for more endowed workers in the field.[15]

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[13] Berger, op. cit., p. xxiii.

[14] Carl L. Becker, "What is Evidence? The Relativist View - Every Man His Own Historian," in The Historian as Detective, edited by Robin W. Winks (New York: Harper Colophone Books, 1968), p. 6.

2. It is assumed that it is possible to create a reconstruction of the actual events that once occurred and that one of the steps in the recreation is the description of images projected by the journal authors.

Significance of the Study

Berger, in writing about "Formal Education and Native People" says:

> One of society's purposes in requiring formal education for its children is to preserve and transmit to the next generation its history, language, religion and philosophy to ensure a continuity of the beliefs and knowledge that a people holds in common. But the purpose of education provided to the northern native people was to erase their collective memory - their history, language, religion and philosophy - and to replace it with that of the white man.[16]

Since the transmission of history is one of society's purposes or a fraction thereof, then the teacher who guides the educational process must have knowledge of what that history is. Whether the educational system which has operated in the Northwest Territories was intended to operate in the way that Berger says it did is beside the point. What is important is that if those responsible for education do not know the history, then they can not transmit it and society's purpose is foiled. The schools should transmit the heritage of the past (i.e., "history, language, religion and philosophy") in order that students may face the future with confidence and pride. This is especially important in that the majority of children in the Northwest Territories are of Inuit and Dene ancestry.

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[15] Keith J. Crowe, A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974).

[16] Berger, op. cit., p. 91.

Not only is the content of the past important to the teacher, but also the process. Bernstein states: "If the culture of the teacher is to become part of the consciousness of the student, then the culture of the student must first be in the consciousness of the teacher."[17] The teacher must know the past heritage of the people or be seeking it before he can make imprint on the child's mind. It would be impossible to experimentally prove this contention but the logic is strong. The teacher who knows the background of the student is most likely to know the student and appreciate what teaching approach is most likely to produce efficient learning. This study would supply a part of what that teacher must seek.

Paulo Freire states that the basic function of education is to help the learner to "name his world."[18] Which name the child will use is supplied by his education from parent, community and school. These last three agencies must be as one -- they must have unified attack. If they do not have access to the same data or are not agreed on basics then the child is foiled in naming his world. Berger writes of the situation in the Northwest Territories:

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[17] Basil B. Bernstein, "A Critique of Compensatory Education," in Functions of Language in the Classroom, edited by C. B. Cazden, Vera John and Dell Hymes (New York: Teacher College Press, 1972).

[18] Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, translated by M. B. Ramos (New York: Herter and Herter, 1971).

> . . . even before there were schools the right of the Dene and Inuit to name themselves and the world around them has been challenged. The church established the use of French and English Christian names in preference to native names. Native placenames were gradually displaced in favour of a nomenclature that paid tribute to the white explorers of the North. Deh-cho, the Big River, now bears Alexander Mackenzie's name - an affirmation of one people's history and the theft of another's. In this and myriad other ways the native people suffered a denigration of their past, they were given to understand that the future was not theirs to announce.[19]

Both learner and the teacher, in order to perform their function, must know the background of developments in the Northwest Territories. They must understand how things came to be as they are.

Teachers, if they are to be effective in the northern context, must know the backgrounds of the northern peoples in order to nurture the identity of the pupils and motivate them. This could encompass Canadian teachers in general. But again the question "What background?" If this background has not been defined and is not available, then the teacher is handicapped in dealing with Inuit and Dene children.

King, in his handbook for teachers of Indians, outlines a core of knowledge that is available in most Indian communities and he includes the topic "Contact with Europeans and subsequent developments" as an important aspect of background history. Under this topic he lists "Earliest of known interactions (who involved, where, what purpose, what results)," the entry and development of Christian churches, and significant individuals (culture heroes, native or European) as part of the core of knowledge needed.[20] This study deals with all these topics.

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[19] Berger, op. cit., p. 90.

[20] A. Richard King, "Native Indians and Schooling in British Columbia" A Handbook for Teachers," (Victoria: University of Victoria, 1978).

Outlining the contact history contributes to the teacher's understanding and helps him in the process of teaching. The outline provides an answer to the question "What History? What Culture?" and thus gives an idea of what can be taught. The material can be used as a basis for curriculum development.

Further, the study indicates the contribution of Inuit and Dene to general knowledge and to the history of the Northwest Territories and Canada. In that the study deals with the education of northern children before the advent of schools, the process of education in a society where no formal organs of instruction are provided are studied. Education, in this context, is defined as the transmittal of a culture to the young. The school is but one agent of this transmittal. Petitt, in his 1946 study Primitive Education in North America, reminds:

> . . . in primitive society, which had no school system, we find a fairly complete picture of what a people must do to ensure the transmittal of its traditions, beliefs, ideals, and aspirations to the younger generation. Through study of such school free efforts we may obtain a clear conception of the manifold ramifications of the process of conditioning children and of safeguarding a cultural pattern.[21]

By comparison of what is and what was, a clearer idea of what should be can be gained.

This study suggests dramatis personae that deserve biographical treatment. Such persons as Thanadethur, Ooglibuck, Augustus, the Nortons, Beaulieu, Matonabbee, Akaitcho, Edzo, Greenstockings, Ebierbing, Hans Hendrik and Eenoolooapik are available for the biographer.

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[21] George A. Petitt, Primitive Education in North America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945).

One of the offshoots of the recent curriculum revisions in the Northwest Territories has been a proliferation of locally developed curriculum units.[22] This can be matched by local histories. It is hoped that this study could be a spur and aid to such activity.

Not only are there opportunities to get insights for present application, but among the dramatis personae there were a number of eminent teachers operating in the ultimate of an intercultural situation. This study highlights some of the individuals and situations thus giving suggestions for teachers.

This study addresses some of the most basic problems of the historian in Canada. Where and at what point does history begin in Northern Canada? It begins millenniums before the coming of the European or eastern Canadians. Canadian history begins in the bowels of North America as well as in Europe. This early Canadian history is circumscribed by the fact that documented history is nil and that the advice of the archaeologist, geologist and the "oral tradition" must be taken. This proved no difficulty with reconstructing the history of the Egyptians, Azetecs, Romans or Israelites. Neither should it prove difficult with the Dene or Inuit except that few academic historians know a Dene language or Inuktitut.

Further, it will be argued that the first northern approach by the European failed whereas the colonization of Greenland by the Dorset people succeeded. The Atlantic sea coast, St. Lawrence and Saskatchewan have a prominence in Canadian history as presently written that requires balancing by the older northern approach by the Europeans to the Americas.

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[22] King, op. cit., p. 58.

The historian has always concerned himself with the individual in past time. The historian studies the individuals, their groupings and then goes on to generalize. But his starting point is the individual. Therefore, in order to study the past of a people, one of the basic considerations is the individual.

Beginnings, northermost Canada, the northern approach, the place of the oral tradition and Inuit and Dene individuals are five constituents of history which this study examines.

Thus, this study aims to make contribution to knowledge in general; to the history of education; to the history of the Northwest Territories; to curriculum considerations; to the theory of contact and to education in general.

Methodology

Some "First Contact" Studies

Three specific studies of "First Contact" relations help in developing questions to pose to the journals in order to focus on the images presented of Dene and Inuit. These same studies also point to reefs to be avoided and channels to take in the development of the thesis.

Cornelius J. Jaenen attempts to describe the thinking and actions of both the French and the Amerindians in their cultural contacts during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries.[23] He discusses both the image projected by the Indian and that projected by the French. This study focuses on the image, reflection or portrayal of the Inuit and Dene as reported in contemporary and later journals but still through the eyes of the journal authors. While Jaenen has utilized both written and oral sources where possible, this study will deal only with the literature of the selected journals.

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[23] Cornelius J. Jaenen, Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976).

Jaenen does entertain the question of "whether the study of French Amerindian relations highlights the whole problem of America's impact on Europe."[24] This does suggest a question that can be applied to the images identified: Are the images by the journals similar or different to those in European-Amerindian relations as described in Jaenen? In what ways?

Another study, by Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and the American Indian Response, 1787-1862, examines the thinking and attitudes of both the missionaries and Indians. Berkhofer makes the following point:

> Books upon any phase of American Indian history usually contain, explicitly or implicitly, a denunciation of American policy and express sympathy for the maltreated aborigine whose culture, if not life was destroyed. Modern scholars find a delicate irony in the disparity between the classic American ideals and the actual treatment of the first Americans.[25]

To run the gauntlet to escape Berkhofer's castigation of emotionalism and improper interpretation and yet to ensure Nerysoo's claims for fair and representational treatment is one of the major tasks of this study.

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[24] Ibid., p. 9.

[25] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 (University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. ix.

But Berkhofer also suggests a method for running the guantlet. Berkhofer utilizes the concept of "acculturation" to study American churchmen-Indian relations. Berkhofer holds that there are two types of conditions under which acculturation takes place. One condition is where one of the cultures is dominant and the conditions may be said to be "directed or forced" because the less autonomous culture has no other choice but to accept the alternatives of the dominant. The other condition is where both cultures are autonomous or "captains of their own fate" and therefore acculturation is "nondirected or permissive." The definition Berkhofer supplies for the directed or forced condition is:

> Acculturation is the process of interaction between the societies by which the culture of the society in the subordinate position is drastically modified to conform to the culture of the dominant society.[26]

In the permissive or nondirected situation, acculturation is "Culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous culture systems."[27]

Berkhofer thus gives a method of describing the images provided by the journals of the Inuit and Dene. The question that is suggested by the above discussion is: "Who influenced whom and in what way and under what conditions?"

Donald B. Smith, in Le Sauvage: The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing on the Heroic Period (1534-1663) of New France, examines the historian's frame of reference in dealing with "Le Sauvage."

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[26] Ibid., p. xi; or Edward A. Hoebel, Man in the Primitive World, 2nd ed. (New York, 1958), p. 643.

[27] Ibid., p. xi; or Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation, "Acculturation: An Explanatory Formulation," American Anthropologist, LVI (December, 1954), pp. 974-75.

Says Smith of the difficulty in so doing:

> Attempting to . . . describe the mentality of another society, even if its roots lie in the same European civilization as one's own, is not easy. To examine an image that society has of a non-European culture, multiplies the problem involved to nearly insurmountable proportions. The following study really demands an intensive personal knowledge not only of the French Canadian's past, but also that of the original inhabitants of Quebec. Because of personal limitations, the approach remains more descriptive than analytical.[28]

The difficulties Smith suggests are present in this study. Like Smith, the approach necessitates a descriptive procedure. But the Smith study also stimulates a question which may be applied to the images of the Inuit and Dene. Smith indicates that each of the French historians had their frame of reference. The author wrote in the way he did because of the society in which he lived and the ideas that were paramount and accepted by the author at that time. The question prompted is: How did the frame of reference affect the image that the author of the journal projected?

The above discussion served three purposes. It pointed out difficulties for "first contact" studies; certain suggestions were made to overcome the difficulties; and certain questions were prompted which, if addressed to the images, would further their description.

Selecting the Expeditions and the Journals

Cooke and Holland have enumerated 1044 expeditions to Northern Canada in the period c1000 to 1920. They only listed the expeditions to 1920 "because the introduction of aircraft at about that date brought very many more visitors into the region."[29]

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[28] Donald B. Smith, Le Sauvage: The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing on the Heroic Period (1534-1663) of New France (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1974), p. 1.

The cut-off data of 1880 for this study was selected because it marks the transfer of the Arctic Islands to Canadian sovereignty. It also witnessed the culmination of preparations for the First International Polar year of 1882-83. Since the fate of the last Franklin expedition was now known, the search for Franklin ended when Frederick Schwatka travelled to King William Island in 1878-80. Thus new enterprises were beginning and the old disappearing.

Cooke and Holland list 778 expeditions or entries during the period c1000 to 1880. Of these, 212 were to parts of northern Canada other than the Northwest Territories, 237 were voyages of supply and 61 were descriptive of events. Thus, 268 expeditions can be identified as ones that travelled to the Northwest Territories.

These 268 voyages were separated out by the following criteria for relevance: 1) the expedition was directed at the geographic area - the Northwest Territories; 2) the expedition had contact with the Inuit and Dene; and 3) it involved travel and was not a fact or event.

Of the 268 expeditions, 72 were chosen because of their extensive contact with Inuit and/or Dene, the duration of the contact in time, and whether or not they met diverse tribes or bands. Further, the expeditions had to have members of their company who published a narrative or written report and thus made it available to the reading public. Narratives were preferred in the choice of journals because the formal report tended to sell the writer and his achievements to the sponsor.

The above 72 expeditions had 77 related journals. Fifty of these journals were written by leaders of the expeditions. Four were edited by accepted authorities or by the leader's authorization. Fourteen journals were written and published by members of the expeditions and nine were not journals but based directly on the journals and are recognized by other historians as being so based. These 77 journals provided the core raw materials for the study.

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[29] Cooke, op. cit., p. 7.

Certain expeditions that visited the Northwest Territories after 1880 were included because of the comments of the authors on previous expeditions and the inclusion of new facts about the previous journeys from the Inuit and Dene point of view. Cooke lists 266 more expeditions in the 1880 to 1920 period. Thirty-eight expeditions were judged to have had experiences which would focus on expeditions of the c1000-1880 period. Forty-four journals were related to the 1880-1925 period.

Two expeditions were added to those listed by Cooke and two related journals were considered. One journal is that of Knud Rasmussen (1921-25) because Rasmussen visited all divisions of the Inuit and two of the Dene. Rasmussen had fitting linguistic abilities and background. Rasmussen tells of Qitlarssuaq, an Inuit, who travelled from Baffin to Greenland in c1865.

Selection and Definition of Images

The 77 journals were generally taken in chronological order but some were grouped because of their relationship with related expeditions. Each journal was approached with the following questions:

1. Who were the Inuit and Dene *dramatis personae*?
2. What were their characteristics according to the author?
3. What did the *personae* do that attracted the attention of the

author?

4. What was the author's assessment of them and their actions?

Later journals of other expeditions to the same area and people or their descendants were examined by the following questions:

1. What facts were reported that were not given by the contemporary reporting journals?

2. What did the Inuit and Dene remember about the previous expeditions?

3. What evaluative comments were made about the earlier expeditions pertinent to the images revealed?

4. Were the images projected by the latter journals different from that of the contemporary? In what ways?

The 44 journals listed after 1880 were examined by these last questions only.

Each expedition has been assigned a number and these numbers plus the corresponding expedition are listed in the Appendix. These numbers (1-72) appear before subtopic headings in the following chapters.

Each of the following chapters except Chapter 2 feature discussion of the above questions that relate to the expeditions. Also the earlier derived questions are also discussed at the end of each chapter. These questions were:

1. Are the images projected by the journals similar or different to those in European-Amerindian relations as described by Jaenen? In what ways?

2. Who influenced whom and in what ways and under what conditions (as per Berkhofer)?

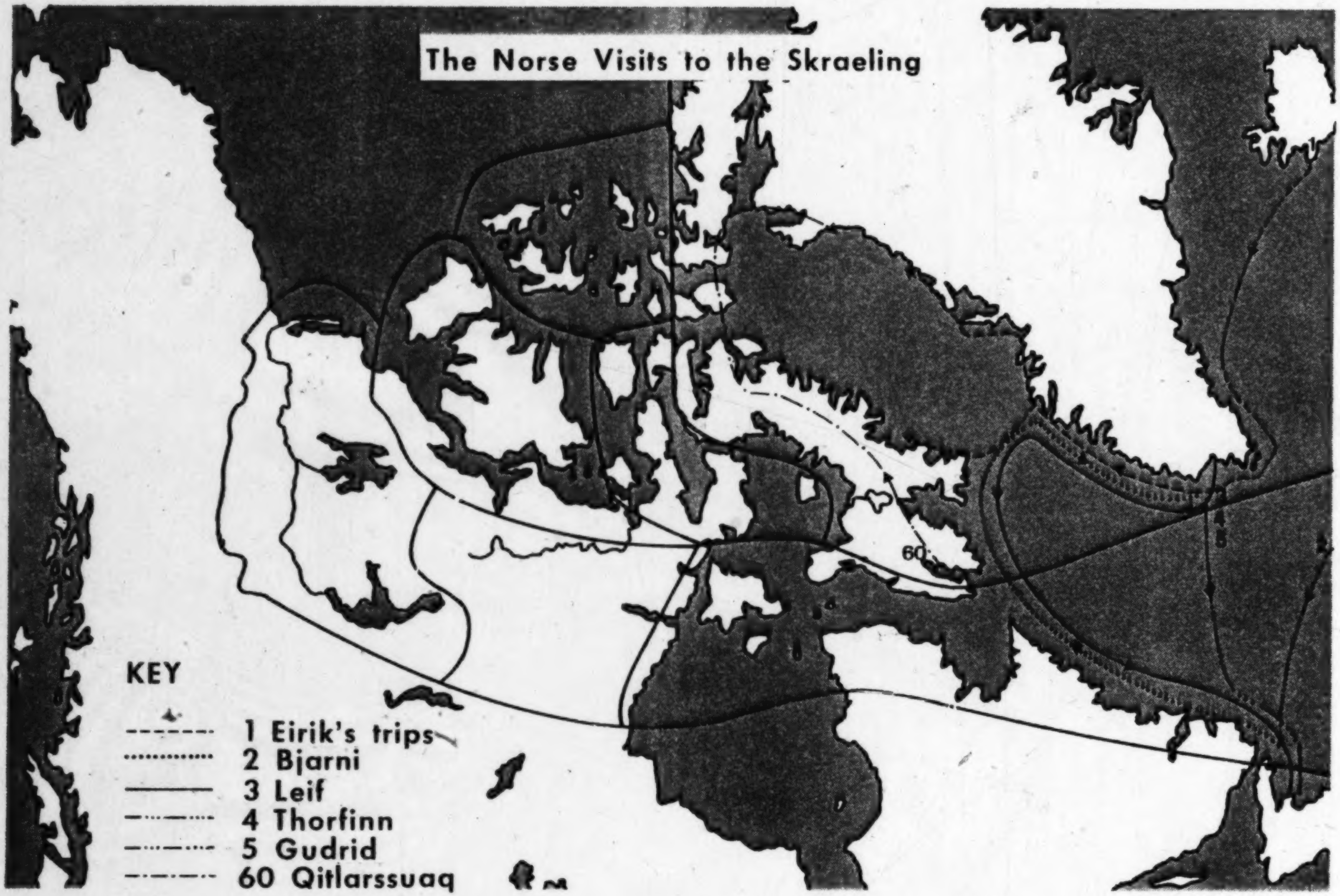
3. How did the frame of reference affect the image that the

authors of the journal projected (as per Smith)?

Conclusion

There are thus two types of images that will appear to the reader's mind. The primary image is a result of the contemporary author's description in his journal. A secondary image can be formed when a later journal writer brings new evidence and comments on the earlier expedition. When these images are connected and grouped, an indication is gained of not only the contribution of the Inuit and Dene, but the state of mind of the visitors and to a lesser degree of the visited. The end result is a series of corrected images or portrayals that can be chronologically connected into a narrative that gives an account of what was happening in Inuit and Dene communities during the contact period. Certain Inuit and Dene individuals emerge as leaders in their own communities, as contributors to the success or failure of the expeditions, and as initiators of movements or actions in their own communities. The effect that the expeditions had on the indigenous populations plus the effect of the latter is examined.

The corrected images, when analyzed and related, produce a narrative suggestive of the history for the region in question during a specified time era by the use of the combined works of authors of the journals of expeditions.



The Norse Visits to the Skraeling

KEY
1 Eirik's trips
2 Bjarni
3 Leif
4 Thorfinn
5 Gudrid
60 Qitlarssuaq
60

CHAPTER 2

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

North America is so situated that it invites migration to its Arctic regions. The 56 mile moat on the Bering Strait side is matched by the 30 mile strip of water that separates Ellesmere Island from Greenland. A chain of islands in the Shetlands, Faeroes, Iceland, Greenland, Ellesmere, Devon and Baffin joins Europe with no water gap greater than 400 miles existing between adjoining islands.

The most ancient known encounter between peoples from Europe and America came in Greenland and Arctic Canada. Population pressures on both sides of the Atlantic caused the first encounter to occur. The first documented encounter is close in years to the first physical encounter of those advancing from the east and those coming from the west. Specifically, the area of first encounter is the west coast of Greenland and the most eastern part of what is now known as the Northwest Territories.

Physical Setting of the Encounter

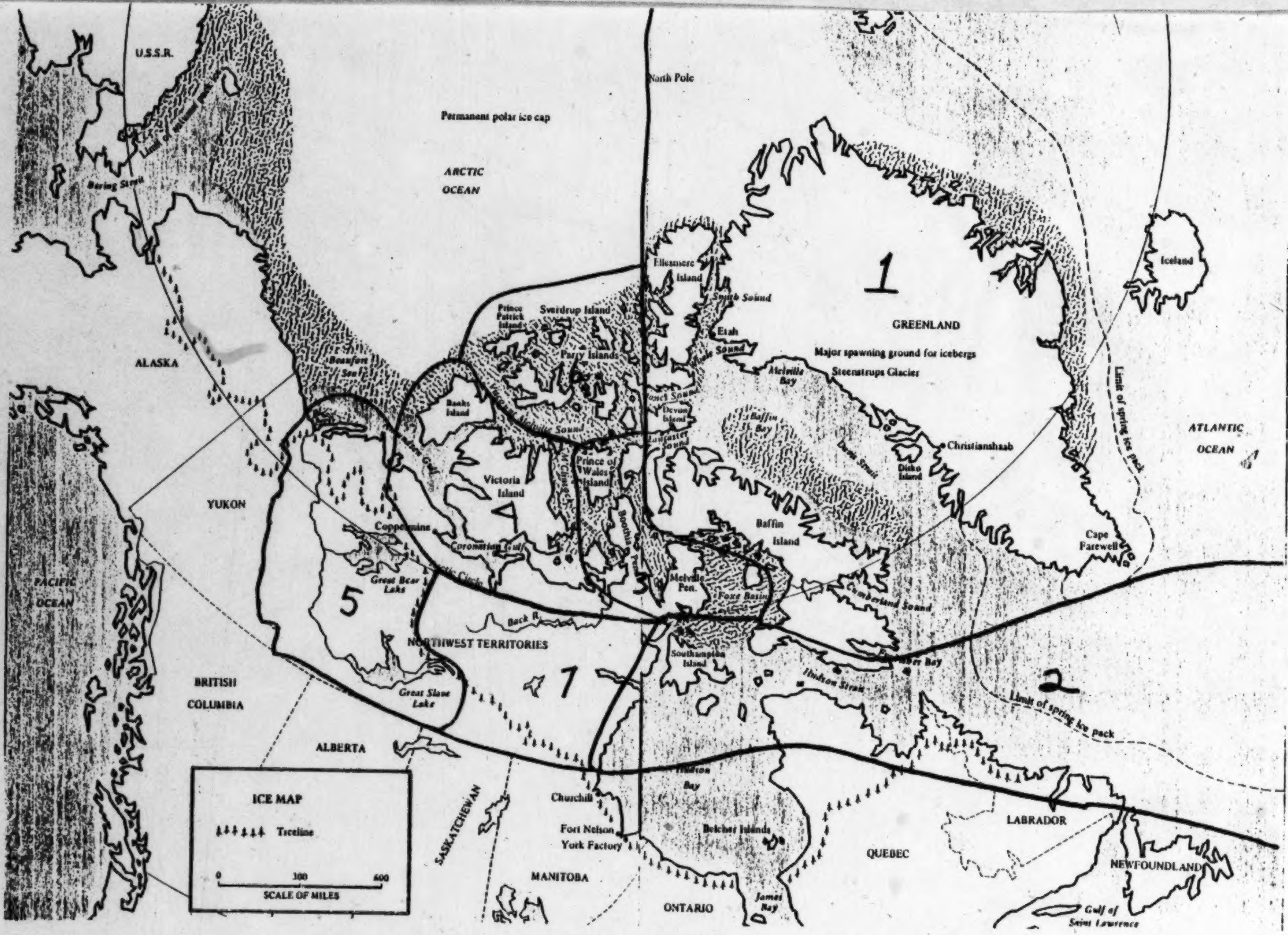
The area for the setting for the cultural encounter occupies from 160 degrees West longitude to approximately 60 degree W., or about 100 degrees of longitude, the belts of which widen as they approach the equator. Greenland is inextricably woven into the story because it first becomes object of intrusion by people from the west, then meeting area, then base for counter invasion by people from the east. So, in like fashion, Alaska and the Yukon are bridges and bases for an easterly flow of peoples and trade.

If one considers only the arenas of activity and disregards the bridging areas, then seven arenas suggest themselves. They are (1) the land masses on either side of Davis Strait, Baffin Bay, Smith Sound, Kane Basin, Kennedy Channel and Hall Basin or specifically Greenland, Ellesmere, Devon and Baffin Islands; (2) the coast of Hudson Bay and Strait; (3) Melville Peninsula to Boothia Peninsula plus Prince of Wales and King William Islands; (4) Victoria and Banks Islands and the lands opposite these islands on the mainland on Coronation Gulf; (5) Mackenzie River System; (6) the Queen Elizabeth Islands; and (7) the taiga and tundra of the interior. Map 1, which follows, has these seven areas marked on it.

Land Masses on Either Side of Davis Strait, Baffin Bay, Smith Sound, Kane Basin, Kennedy Channel and Hall Basin

The waterways named above lead to the Polar ice. These were the waterways that led Frederick Cook and Robert Peary to the North Pole in 1909. These waters had to be bridged by Sarquaq, Dorset and Thule Inuit to get to Greenland as they had to be bridged by the Norse and later visitors to get to America. The navigators had to sail these icy seas to make entrance into Hudson Strait or Smith, Jones or Lancaster Sounds. "Explorers," home seeker, trader, whaler, and missionary depended on these points of entry to leave or to enter America.

Because of the pressure of the Polar ice cap and that produced by fresh water rivers that flow into the Arctic Ocean, in the spring and


U.S.S.R.
Bering Strait
Limit of summer pack ice
ALASKA
YUKON
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
Gulf of Saint Lawrence
North Pole
Permanent polar ice cap
ARCTIC OCEAN
Beaufort Sea
Prince Patrick Island
Sverdrup Island
Parry Islands
Banks Island
Victoria Island
Prince of Wales Island
M'Clintock
Boothia Pen.
Melville Pen.
Foxe Basin
Southampton Island
Coppermine
Coronation Gulf
Arctic Circle
Great Bear Lake
Great Slave Lake
Back R.
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
Churchill
Fort Nelson
York Factory
Hudson Bay
Belcher Islands
James Bay
Hudson Strait
Frobisher Bay
Cumberland Sound
Baffin Island
Baffin Bay
Davis Strait
Lancaster Sound
Devon Island
Jones Sound
Ellesmere Island
Smith Sound
Etah
Whale Sound
Melville Bay
GREENLAND
Major spawning ground for icebergs
Steenstrups Glacier
Christianshaab
Disko Island
Cape Farewell
Iceland
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Limit of spring ice pack
1
2
4
5
6
7
ICE MAP
Treeline
0
300
600
SCALE OF MILES

Map 1. Areas of Activities in the Northwest Territories

Taken from: Farley Mowat. Ordeal By Ice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), pp. 10,11.

summer sunlit period, a heavy current and flow of ice come down from the waters separating Ellesmere and Greenland. Icebergs are birthed from the glaciers that surround these waters on the east coasts of Ellesmere, Devon and Baffin Islands and from Greenland as well. The heavy crush of ice spills into Baffin Bay making what is called the "Middle Pack" (of ice) an almost insuperable obstacle except at certain times of the year. The Labrador current sweeps down the coast of Baffin and Labrador out into the Atlantic whereas the Greenland current flows along the east coast of Greenland. Navigators need to know the currents and the ice flow to successfully navigate in the area.

Greenland consists of 839,781 square miles but 607,885 square miles are covered with inland ice.[1] The 131,896 square miles of uncovered land situated around the coast are at times icefree. The face of North America toward Greenland is likewise glacial and except for areas such as Frobisher Bay, Cumberland Sound, South Ellesmere, and other scattered areas, presents a forbidding face to Greenland.

Like a great shield, Baffin, Devon and Ellesmere Islands block the view from Greenland, making entry into Hudson Bay narrow and difficult, and forbidding the entry into the Canadian Archipelago except through Lancaster or the even more difficult Jones Sound.

At three points the cross water distance from Ellesmere to Northwestern Greenland is less than 30 miles. Finn Gad suggests that Washington Land, Hall Land and Nyboe Land on the Greenland side were gateways for Inuit coming into Greenland.[2] The seas further to the south were highways by which Norse and succeeding people might intrude into what has presently become Canadian territory.

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[1] Erik Erngaard, Greenland: Then and Now (Copenhagen: Lademann Ltd., 1972), p. 6.

Also, if northern Greenland could provide corridors for the movement of people, southern Greenland could provide haven and a base for the Norse and succeeding travellers from the east. The many fiorded southwest coast came to be the site of the first European colonies.

The Coast of Hudson Strait and Bay

At the south of the shield of Baffin, Devon and Ellesmere lie the narrow Hudson Straits. The current flowing out of these straits is strong resulting from the fresh water intake contributed by the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. That part of the Hudson Bay coast with which this study is concerned runs almost perpendicularly south from Baffin Island till the coast begins to curve eastward just before the Churchill port. Rivers from the Canadian Shield drain into the Bay and each of the major Inlets of Rankin, Chesterfield and Lyon plus Wager and Repulse Bays served as entry points of later European expeditions. Roe's Welcome Sound separates Southampton Island from the western mainland. Southampton Island and Foxe Peninsula of Baffin Island form the southern limits of Foxe Basin with the narrow Fury and Hecla Straits leading out of Foxe Basin and into the Northern Ocean.

This coast of Churchill lies entirely above the tree line and opens onto the area known as the Barrens. The southern and eastern parts of the Bay are important to this study only in that they serve as bases or provide vehicles for expeditions which lead into other parts of the Northwest Territories.

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[2] Finn Gad, The History of Greenland. I. Earliest Times to 1700, translated from the Danish by Ernst Dupont (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971), p. 21.

Melville Peninsula to Boothia Peninsula Including Prince of Wales, Somerset and King William Islands

To the west of Baffin Island lies the Boothia Peninsula and Somerset Island. Lancaster Sound and the Straits of Fury and Hecla are the eastern entry points and these two are joined by Prince Regent Inlet and the Gulf of Boothia. Barrow and Bellot Strait give entry to the western waterways. Separating Prince of Wales Island are Peel Sound and Franklin Straits whereas King William Island is separated from the mainland by James Ross, Rae and Simpson Straits. From the south leading into Chantry Inlet and thus into Rae Strait flows the Great Fish or Back River. This river is a highway, though a treacherous one, that almost connects this area with the Mackenzie River system at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake.

Victoria and Banks Islands and the Lands Opposite These Islands on the Mainland

McClintock Channel, like the Middle pack of Baffin Bay, has a stream of ice flowing southward from Viscount Melville Sound and crushing up against King William Island. Victoria Island is bounded by this waterway on the east and by Queen Maud Sea, Coronation Gulf and Dolphin and Union Strait on the south. Amundsen Gulf leads into the Beaufort Sea on the south as Viscount Melville Sound and McClure Strait do in the north. Prince of Wales Strait joins Viscount Melville and Amundsen Gulf. Since Victoria and Banks Islands are the most westerly of the areas mentioned heretofore, they had the fewest numbers of expeditions visit them to the 1880's. In this, they are like the area immediately about Viscount Melville Sound.

Queen Elizabeth Islands

The Queen Elizabeth Island group includes Axel Heiberg, Amund and Ellef Ringness, Borden, Mackenzie King, Lougheed, Prince Patrick, Melville, Bathurst and Cornwallis Islands. These islands, too, were shielded from early traffic by Europeans but archaeological remains indicate that they were often travelled by the Inuit.

The Mackenzie River System

The Mackenzie River system includes the rivers of the Delta, the Mackenzie River proper, Great Bear Lake, Great Slave Lake, the Slave River and Athabasca Lake. Actually, the Peace, Hay, Yellowknife, Athabasca, and other rivers which supply water to the Mackenzie system are included. This great artery reaches deep into present day Alberta and provides waterways throughout the western portion of the Northwest Territories. The waterways are for the most part very navigable. Navigation has existed on this river for a longer period than any other river in North and South America. The region which includes the river, after that of the Hudson Bay region, was most open to "explorer," trader and missionary. It is and was the most populated area plus the region most likely, after Greenland, to be settled by Europeans.

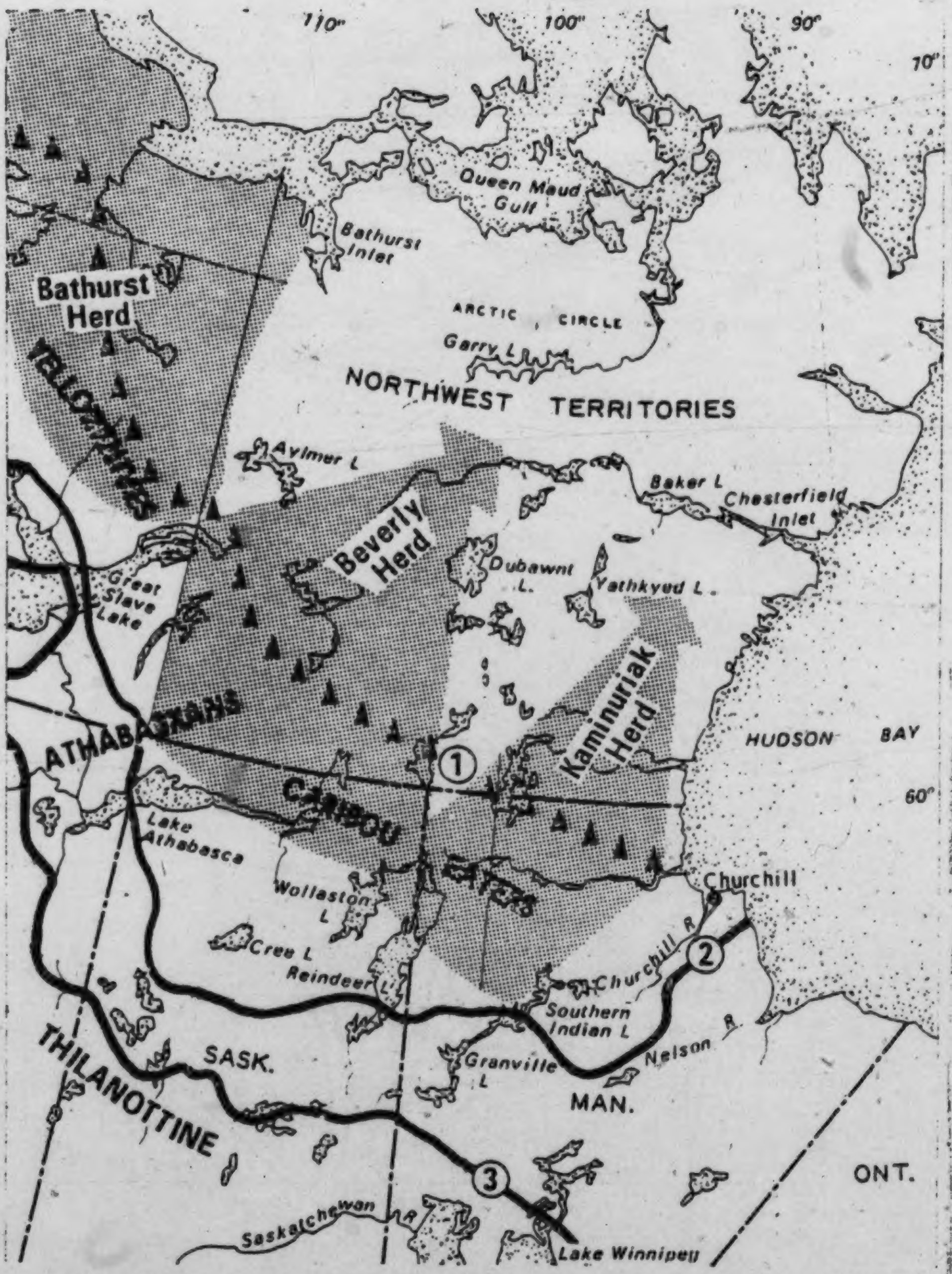
Interior Taiga and Tundra

Stretching from the Mackenzie region to Hudson Bay is the vast interior and tundra area. To the northeast lay the "Land of the Little

Sticks," or the Barrens whereas the tree line diagonally running across the area splits the Barrens from the treed areas. As each of the other regions have their waterways or their arteries of transport, this region too has trails but they are land trails and trails made by a mass of moving entities -- the caribou. The herds are very like the Middle Ice Pack or the ice flow of McClintock Channel -- the difference being that the masses live and were lived upon. The caribou move to the peace and plenty of the Barrens in the summer and to the safety and protection of the treeline in the winter. They were the common element shared by the Inuit and Dene, other than geography and climate. And they are very like a geographic landmark even though they move and live. Human life and history in these parts depend so heavily on these herds that they might be compared to weather or geography and thus their inclusion with the geographic description.

There were three massive herds: the Kaminuriak, the Beverly and the Bathurst herds. The Kaminuriak herd, the most easterly, wintered as far south as the Churchill River and then went north toward Chesterfield Inlet in the summer. The Beverly herd wintered north of Lake Athabasca and east of Great Slave Lake and then moved north toward the Garry Lake area and the course of the Back River in summer. The Bathurst herd wintered north and east of Great Slave Lake and then moved northward and westward to the west of the Bathurst Inlet area.

The caribou herds provided the life giving food for the peoples who lived in the area concerned just as the musk-ox herds, seals, fish, whales, moose and hare provided the means to preserve and pursue life in other areas. The caribou were to the Barrens what the buffalo were to the Great Canadian western plains.


110°
100°
90°
70°
Queen Maud Gulf
Bathurst Inlet
Bathurst Herd
YELLOWKNIVES
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Garry L
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
Aylmer L
Beverly Herd
Baker L
Chesterfield Inlet
Dubawnt L.
Yathkyed L.
Great Slave Lake
Kaminuriak Herd
HUDSON BAY
ATHABASKANS
①
60°
CARIBOU EATERS
Lake Athabasca
Wollaston L
Churchill
Churchill R
②
Cree L
Reindeer L
Southern Indian L
Nelson R
SASK.
Granville L
MAN.
THILANOTTINE
③
ONT.
Saskatchewan R
Lake Winnipeg

SCHEMATIC MAP OF CHIPEWYAN SOCIO-TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND
DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR CARIBOU HERDS

▲ ▲ Treeline
1-2 Usual winter range of barren-ground caribou
2-3 Maximum winter penetration of barren-ground caribou

100 0 100 200 300 400
Miles

Map 2

From: A. McFadyen Clark, Proceedings: Northern Athapaskan Conference, 1971, Vol I, II (Ottawa: National Museum of Man: Mercury Series, Paper #27), p. 402.

These seven regions cover an area of 1,253,000 square miles and the land mass is greater than the combined areas of the Atlantic provinces, Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba. From the southern tip of James Bay to the northern most part of Ellesmere Island is some 2,200 miles whereas the east-west distance from the eastern coast of Baffin Island to the western Mackenzie Delta is 2,100 miles. Roaming this vast space and occupying all parts at one time or another are the Inuit and Dene.

These regions are diverse but there are similarities as well in their geographical make-up. This is true as well of the peoples who inhabited the regions -- there are differences in the way that the cultural contact took place just as there are similarities.

People

All of Canada, about thirty thousand years ago, lay under four glacial ice caps: the Greenland, Keewatin, Labrador and Cordilleran glaciers. As these ice caps melted and retreated northward, they gouged out the land. Naturally, Arctic areas were the last parts of the land to be uncovered -- about a millenium later than southern Canada. Inuit country, then, has a period of some fifty centuries.[3] By 5000 B.C., Taylor conjectures, the arctic regions became habitable if people had the technology to deal with climate and living conditions.

The Inuit. Cape Denbigh, Alaska, is one of the sites investigated by archaeologists, and it is one of the most ancient sites known to be inhabited by the most ancient of Arctic men. These people had chipped chert and obsidian tools that included microblades, scrapers, side scrapers, knife blades, insert side blades and points for the hafting of lances, spears, arrows and harpoon heads. They also had burins of "specialized chipped stone tools for slicing and perforating such hard materials as bone, caribou antlers and walrus ivory."[4] All these facts lead to the conclusion that the Denbigh people were seasonal nomads who were proficient in hunting on both sea and land.

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[3] William E. Taylor, Jr., "The Fragments of Eskimo Prehistory," in Inuit Land Use and Occupany Project, Vol. I., edited by Milton M. R. Freeman (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1976).

Radio carbon, paleo-climatology and geological timing techniques indicate that the Denbigh people utilized these tools from 3500 B.C. to 2500 B.C. in Alaska and that other people utilizing these tools spread eastward across northern Alaska, the central Canadian Arctic and the eastern Arctic islands to Greenland. Carbon dating of like tool finds indicates that northeastern Greenland had been reached by 2000 B.C. In the Canadian Arctic, the Denbigh culture is called the Pre-Dorset and it lasted until 800 B.C. Sarqaq, a late variant in Greenland, lasted there till about 500 B.C. Sarqaq, Pre-Dorset and Denbigh are all categorized as the Arctic Small Tool Tradition.[5]

It is not clearly established whether this culture be either Indian or Inuit but there are certainly elements retained in the cultures of all peoples of northern Canada. Further, it is important to establish that people in the Arctic have been on the move for thousands of years and that routes of movements have been established long before

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[4] Ibid., p. 105.

[5] Ibid., p. 105.

European-Amerindian or Amerinuit contact.

Map 3 indicates that early Paleo Eskimo remains have been located from the Alaska border all along the northernmost coast of the mainland, and northward through the Archipelago to Smith Sound and northward along the Greenland coast. Further, sites are found on the mainland generally north of the treeline and along both the east and west coasts of Hudson Bay, in Baffin Island and along the Labrador coast.

Over forty years ago, Diamond Jenness defined what he called Dorset culture so named because the major site existed on Cape Dorset, Foxe Peninsula. Radioactive carbon techniques showed that this Dorset people occupied large areas from about 800 B.C. to 1300 A.D., depending on where the site was located. Archaeologists hypothesized that the culture spread from Bernard Harbour and Melville Island in the west to eastern Greenland and down into the northwestern part of Newfoundland. Map 4 shows the extensive breadth of the spread of this culture. Bernard Harbour is approximately 2400 miles from the sites in Newfoundland.[6]

There is controversy among archaeologists as to the origin of this culture. Some say it originated in Alaska and others maintain it came from an Indian mode of living from around the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Valley. There is agreement, however, that Dorset culture lasted longer in the Canadian eastern Arctic.[7]

Unlike the Small Tool Tradition people, these Dorsets tended to

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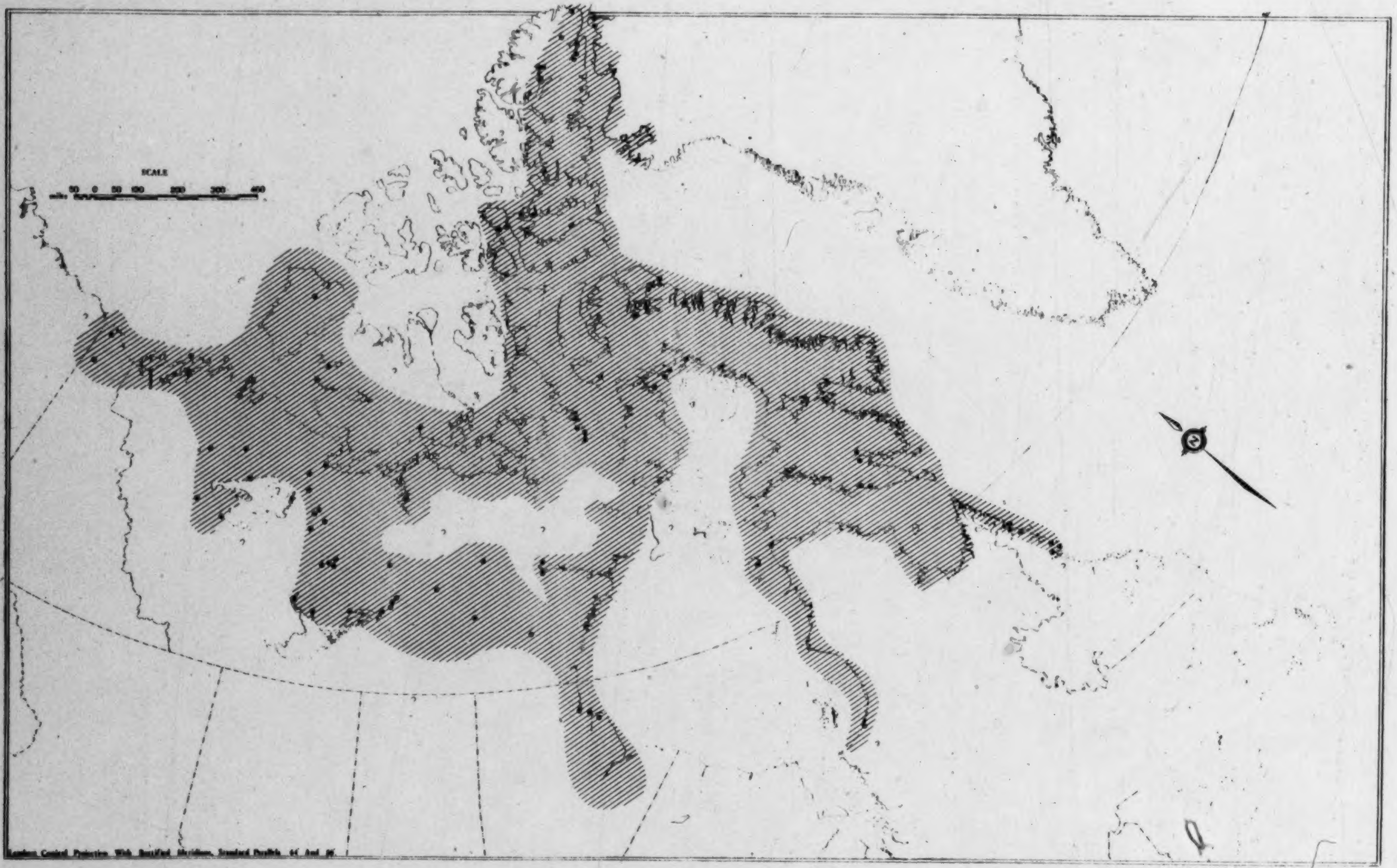
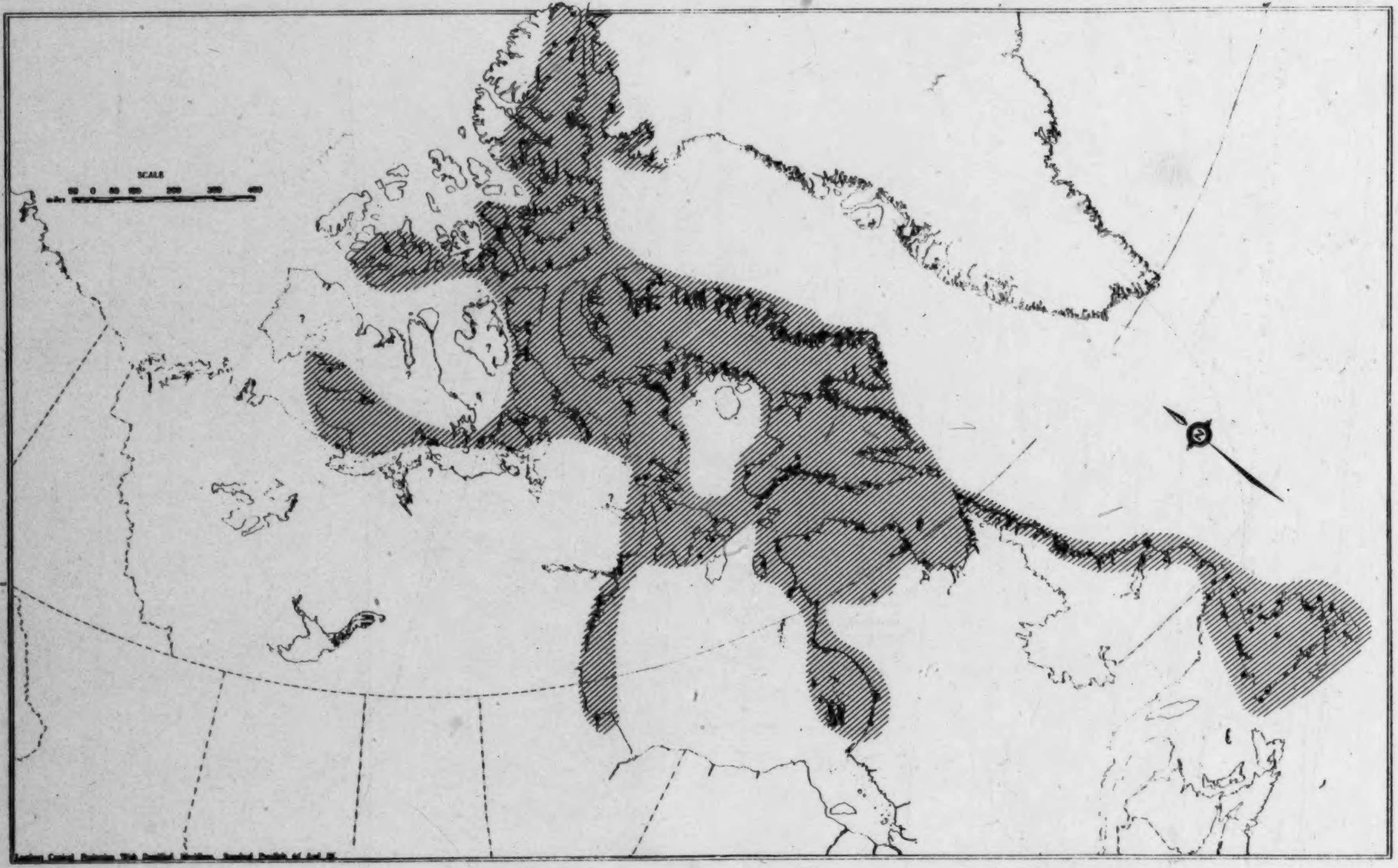
[6] Taylor, op. cit., p. 106.

[7] Gad, op. cit., p. 18.


SCALE
miles 50 0 50 100 200 300 400

Map 3. Site Locations and Presumptive Land Use: Early Paleo-Eskimo

Source: Milton Freeman Research Limited. Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project. Vol. 2 (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1976), p. 121.


SCALE
50 0 50 100 200 300 400
miles

Map 4. Site Locations and Presumptive Land Use: Dorset

Source: Milton Freeman Research Limited, op. cit., p. 120.

be a coastal people. Finn Gad lists a number of characteristics of Dorset culture. They had no burins or bows and arrows. Dorsets concentrated on heavy hunting spears, barbed fish spears, and flint points for the spear and other cutting instruments. The women possessed long, oval, pointed, sewing needles. Both heating lamps and floor plan were characteristically square. The houses were sunken in the earth to preserve heat. The ulu as an implement appeared. Dorsets utilized burial mounds and used red ochre. They hunted walrus and to a lesser extent seal. The snow knife and the sledge runner had been developed by them.[8] Further, they had small, delicate carvings in ivory which range from four inches to as little as three-eights of an inch and weighing sometimes as little as a fraction of an ounce. All characteristics point to a sea-going people with emphasis on the produce of the sea.

Beginning in 900 A.D., the Thule culture, which had developed in Alaska, began to sweep across the Canadian Arctic. The Thule culture had developed around the hunting of the whale and when the number of whales declined drastically, this also marked the end of the Thule culture. The culture persisted longer in certain areas than others but Taylor marks 1850 as signalling the end of this way of life.

Thule culture had characteristics of reliance on sea-going hunting of the whale, walrus, seal, birds, fish and caribou. It seemed to be an amalgam of the Small Tool tradition people and the Dorsets. Thule people involved themselves in hunting the Baleen whale but they also engaged in hunting the caribou. They had kayaks, umiaks, sleds, sled dogs, whips, harpoons, spears, lances, fishing gear and bows and arrows. The women had needles, needle cases, ulu, soapstone lamps, pots and wick trimmers. The technology possessed adzes, drum parts, snow knives, dippers, seal scratchers, snow goggles, sealing stools, snares, drying racks, snow beaters, bow drills and snow probes. Further, Thule houses used whale bone for rafters, had cold trap entrances and raised sleeping platforms. Stone slabs and sod constituted the building materials. Map 5 indicates known Thule sites.

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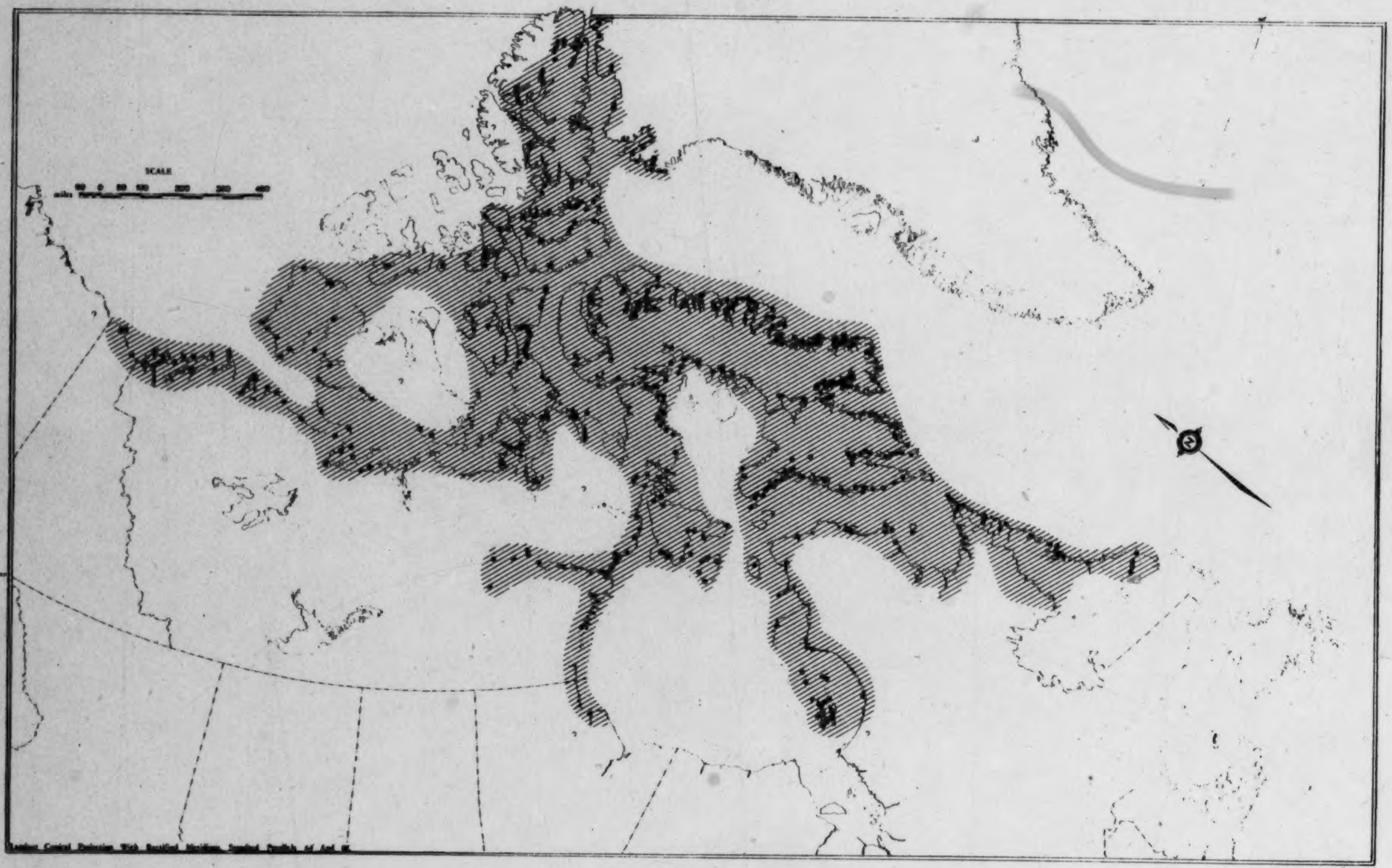
[8] Taylor, op. cit., p. 106.

When in the middle part of the Nineteenth century whales began to become scarce, the Inuit could no longer depend upon that animal. Snow houses took the place of permanent homes because the igloo could be built wherever snow existed. Thus began the period of the modern Inuit.

With the coming of the Little Ice Age of 1650-1850, conditions for living became more difficult and the Inuit began to forsake his ancient dwelling places in Ellesmere, Devon, Somerset, Cornwallis and Bathurst and moved east to Greenland and south to the coast of Victoria Island, Boothia Peninsula and Baffin Island.

The expeditions which came to the Northwest Territories' area met different people and this must be considered when studying the images reported. In order to best describe the "image," it is necessary to know the people of whom the image is made.

Dene origins. It is possible in Arctic America soil to reach culture sterile levels. Theoretically, the artifacts of the first men lie on the level above that culturally sterile level. The oldest single artifact that has come to light is a single arrowhead at Old Crow Flats. This artifact has been designated as a product of the most ancient of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Map 5. Site Locations and Presumptive Land Use: Thule

Source: Milton Freeman Research Limited, op. cit., p. 119.

men in America. The radiocarbon date given for the artifact is 27,000 + 3,000 or -2,000 years ago. This is slim evidence for dating man's arrival in America via Beringia.[9]

It can be established that European Homo Sapiens lived in the cool steppes a half million years ago. By the time of the Wurm or last glaciation, the descendants had spread to the Siberian Steppes and perhaps even to Beringia. At the time of this last build-up of ice, a land bridge existed that connected America and Beringia. Along this land bridge came the people and advanced down the Yukon and Mackenzie valleys into the heart of North America. McGhee states, "Indians were definitely inhabiting America to the south of the Laurentide ice by 12,000 years ago, perhaps by 25,000 years ago and possibly as early as 40,000 years ago.[10]

During the historic period, the Canadian Arctic was inhabited by Athabascans or Dene, the Algonkians and the Inuit. Biologically, the northern Indian groups -- the Dene and Algonkians -- are more closely related to southern Indian groups than to the Inuit. The Inuit and Aleuts, however, belong to a distinct physical type which has been called the Bering Sea Mongoloid.[11] In other words, the Inuit have more kindred with Asiatic people than do Indian groups. It is on this apparent fact that the surmise can be made that Inuit arrived later.[12]

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[9] D. M. Hopkins, "The Cenozoic History of Beringia: A Synthesis," in The Bering Land Bridge, ed. D. M. Hopkins (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), pp. 471-74.

[10] Robert McGhee, "The peopling of Arctic North America," in Arctic and Alpine Regions, by J. Ives and R. Barry (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1974), p. 834.

[11] W. S. Laughlin, "Human Migration and Permanent Occupation in the Bering Sea Area," in D. M. Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 417-21.

Linguistically, Algonkian and Athapaskan languages seem to have no significant relationship to any Asiatic languages but Eskaleutian is related to the Chukotan, a linguistic group who now live in Siberia.[13]

After the Old Crow Flats' artifact, archaeologists have no more artifacts securely dated until 10,000 B.C. They can establish three distinct environmental zones in the western Arctic where people developed between 10,000 B.C. and 6,000 B.C. The Akmak people lived on the tundra of northwestern Alaska and that area of Alaska that was part of Beringia. The Denali complex people occupied the interior tundra or forest tundra of Alaska. Further, the Anangula resided in the Umnak Islands of the coastal zone. Akmak are related to the Inuit and Denali to the Athapaskans.[14] Thus, Alaska seems to be the incubator out of which came the ancestors of modern Dene and Inuit.

After 6,000 B.C., Indian groups moved out into or near the Barren grounds of central Canada. The earliest site that has been identified is Acasta Lake Site.[15] Here, artifacts of northern Plano Tradition were found. This Plano Tradition was ultimately derived from the Paleo Indian hunting cultures of the northern plains in periods preceeding 5,000 B.C.[16] It is hypothesized that these people may have utilized the forest areas of the Mackenzie and then made summer visitations to the Barren Grounds.

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[12] McGhee, op. cit., p. 836.

[13] M. Swadesh, "Linguistic Relations Across Bering Strait," American Anthropology, 64(6), pp. 1262-91.

[14] McGhee, op. cit., p. 839.

[15] William C. Noble, "Applications of the Direct Historic Approach in the Central District of the Mackenzie, N.W.T.," in Clark, op. cit., p. VIII.

Noble states that people who used like tools to the Acasta site people roamed the Barren Grounds and can be traced back almost 2,000 years from the 18th century Chipewyan and Yellowknife. Noble further affirms that it is reasonable to make the statement that people with like type of adaptation as had the Chipewyan have been following the caribou north to the Barren Grounds for most summers of the past 7,000 years.[17]

The tundra hunters probably followed the caribou eastward into the Keewatin after the disappearance of the Laurentide glacier and then began the process of adaption to the Canadian Shield. This adaptation is termed the Shield Archaic Tradition. Wright considers the Shield Archiac people then abandoned the Keewatin region around 1,000 B.C., moving south to the forest areas.[18]

The following chart, adapted from McGhee,[19] summarized 8,000 years of prehistory of the Dene and Inuit as the archaeologist presently see the prehistory of these peoples. The modern Inuit is an amalgam of Arctic Small Tradition, Dorset, and Thule Inuit. The Dene derived

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[16] H. M. Warmington, Ancient Men in North America, 4th ed (Denver: Denver Museum of Natural History, 1957).

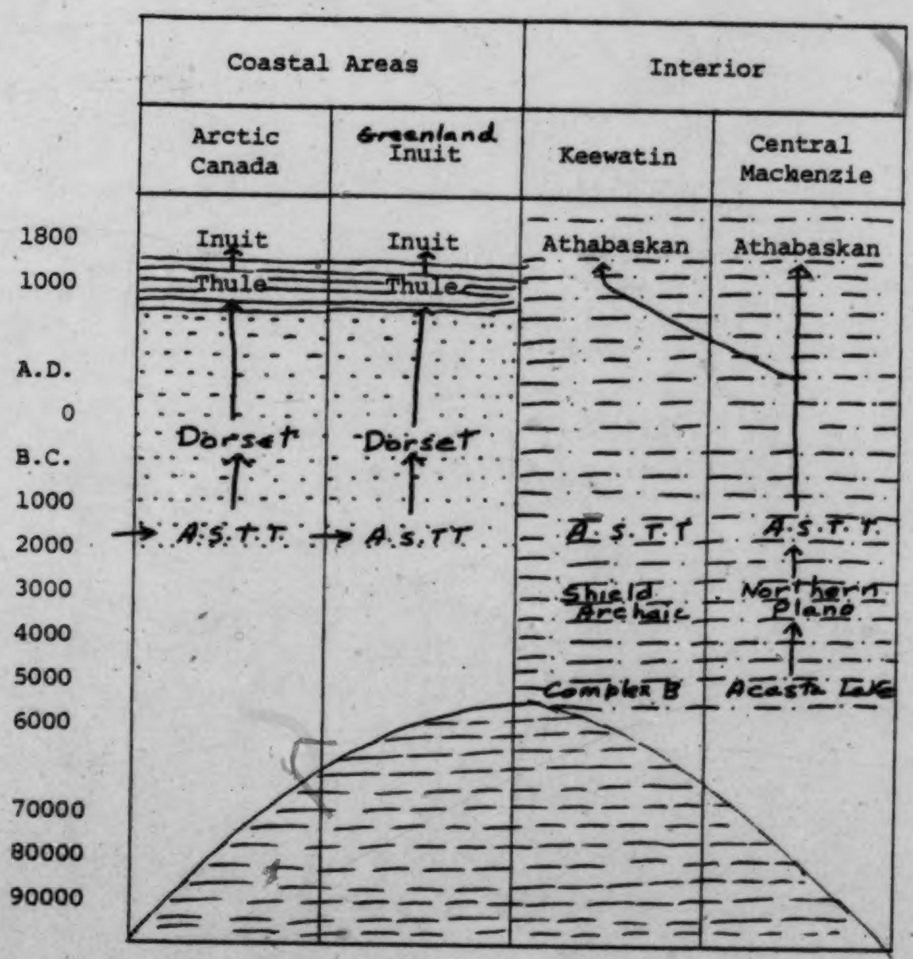
[17] Noble, op. cit.

[18] J. V. Wright, The Shield Archaic (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1971).

[19] McGhee, op. cit., p. 851.

Summary of Northwest Territories' Area Prehistory

(McGhee, Ives, p. 851)



Key: Tundra Hunters

Tundra Coastal Hunters

Maritime Hunters

Glacial Ice

their tools from the Northern Plano, the Shield Archaic and the Arctic Small Tool Tradition. The journal authors of later expeditions turn many times to a description of tools and to the origins of the Inuit and Dene. There is almost continuous dialogue because one journal writer has read the previous discourses on the subject. Journal authors have one theme in common -- the land and the people. It is from this theme that the images emerge.

CHAPTER 3

THE SKRAELING

This chapter includes five expeditions mounted by the Norse against northern North America in c1000. The Norse recorded their first images of the Skraeling, the people found in these new-to-the-Norse lands. After planting colonies in East and West Greenland, the Norse spread into the Canadian Arctic Archipelago but the Dorset Inuit spreading eastward came into contact with the westward arriving invaders. The Norse colonies flourished for a time and then disappeared. The expedition of Qitdlarssuaq as reported by Knud Rasmussen is included to demonstrate the type of movement of indigenous people that occurred during the Norse occupation of Greenland and environs. In actuality, two cultures were planted -- the Dorset and the European. Only one survived in the Arctic environment.

The two sagas selected for this study are the Graenlendinga Saga and Eirik's Saga. The two Icelandic sagas in "spare and vigorous prose . . . record Europe's first surprised glimpse of the eastern shores of the North American continent"[1] and its inhabitants. Most authorities agree that the events actually took place but details, even facts, as given in the sagas are often at variance.[2] The dates assigned to the five expeditions by leading authorities illustrate this fact.

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[1] Magnus Magnussen and Hermann Palsson, The Vineland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America: Graenlendinga Saga and Eirik's Saga (New York: University Press, 1966), p. 7.

Facing - Map 6. The Norse Visits to the Skraeling.

TABLE 1*

DATES ASSIGNED TO EXPEDITIONS OF THE NORSEMEN USED IN THIS STUDY BY AUTHORITIES

	Cooke Holland	Oleson	Gathorne: Hardy	Storm Graenlendinga Saga	Storm Eirik's Saga
1 Eirik Thorvaldsson (Erik the Red)	982	---	---	---	---
2 Bjarni Herjulfsson	c 1000	986	986	985	---
3 Leif Eiriksson (Vinland Voyage)	c 1000	1001-02	1002-03	1003-04	1000
4 Thorfinn Thordarsson	c 1000	1011-13	1020-23	1009-11	1003-06
5 Freydis, Helgi and Finnbogi	c 1000	1014	c 1024	1012-13	---

*Adapted from Cooke and Holland

Actually, Cooke and Holland list thirteen expeditions of the Norsemen but the five selected above deal specifically with the meeting of the Skraeling either in person or relics of their habitation of the land. Cooke and Holland select an approximate date for each of the five expeditions because the nature of the sagas seem to dictate this. The sagas can not be taken literally but they do give the essence of the "image" as received and transmitted by the Norsemen.

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[2] Cooke and Holland, op. cit., p. 13.

(1)* A People in Absentia - "Discovery of Baffin Island" by Eirik Thorvaldsson in 982

The point of beginning is in Iceland. The Norse invaders had penetrated to Russia, the Mediterranean, Africa and finally exhausted themselves on the shores of North America. Iceland had only been a stopping point -- one of the steps to other places. After brawling in Iceland, Eirik Thorvaldsson had been banished by the Thorsness Assembly or Icelandic court, in 982, for a period of three years.[3] Eirik had heard tales of lands to the westward, "of land that Gunnbjorn, the son of Ulf Crow had sighted when he was driven westward off course and discovered the Gunnbjarner Skerrie."[4] Eirik sailed off in the required direction and reached Blaserk (Blue Collar) on the east side of what he later declared to be Greenland. He sailed around Cape Farewell, running the Greenland Current, and at Farewell sailed north following the Gulf Stream to Eirik's Island, thought to be near present day Julianehaab. This island later became the centre of the Eastern Settlement, even though it was situated on the west coast of Greenland. Eirik spent the winter of 982 here and the next summer proceeded to investigate lands to the north called the Vestri Obygdir or western wilderness. Past present day Godthaab he sailed to a 7,300 foot mountain site.[5] Eirik climbed the mountain, sighted the 7,100 foot mountain which lay 240 miles across the

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*The number in the bracket that precedes each subtitle is equivalent to that assigned to the expedition listed in Appendix A.

[3] Magnussen, op. cit., p. 77.

[4] Ibid., p. 77.

[5] Ibid.

Davis Strait on Cape Dyer of Baffin Island. Authors, who so argue, claim that Eirik crossed the Strait and the number of sea animals and fish made a great impression on him. The desolate coast provided no incentive for habitation but the rich sea life on this side of Baffin Bay must have lit the fires of the coldly, calculating Eirik. Eirik could live on the east coast of Greenland, so he thought, but this west side of Baffin would provide him with the rich material for barter with Iceland and then Eirik the Red would recoup all his losses and wreak vengeance on his enemies that had been instrumental in his banishment.

Eirik's visit took place much earlier than the arrival of the Thule people. The Sarqaq and perhaps the Dorset had left artifacts and relics. Being of a practical bent, Eirik reasoned that his site in Greenland provided defence from attack by a people who had been lately present, the climate on the eastern side of Davis Strait appealed to him and this western side could provide the staples for building a trade with Iceland.

Eirik returned to Iceland in 985. What his expedition does reveal is the calculation and careful plotting of this aggressive Norseman. While Eirik had been imprudently rash in Iceland before this banishment, he carefully staged his return to Iceland. He came back with a plan and the plan convinced enough people to man twenty-five ships to make the return journey to Greenland. He undoubtedly used the defence, climate, geography and hinterland argument to convince the practical, reasoning Icelanders. Only fourteen ships reached Greenland.[6]

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[6] Ibid., p. 51.

The shrewd, calculating, ingenious Eirik had a jealous streak that could brook no opposition from any inhabitant. He carefully searched for them but found only relics of past inhabitants. Clearly the sagas establish the nature of the Norsemen and it is with this frame of reference that they viewed the people whom the Norse came to name as Skraeling.

The first image presented of the people who lived in this new world to the Norse is of a people whose artifacts were present but their persons were not. The remains of Sarqaq people existed in both Baffin and Greenland. If Eirik had met people, he would have mentioned them because when the meeting did occur, the Norse gave precise details of the encounters.

(2) A Peopleless Land Sighted - "The Discovery of America: c1000: Bjarni Herjulfsson"

Bjarni Herjulfsson had been in Norway when his father decided to accompany Eirik to Greenland. When Bjarni returned to Iceland, he found his father gone and so Bjarni decided to go to his father's new abode.[7] In attempting the westward trip, Bjarni lost his course and reached three variously described lands: 1) those that were "wooded with low hills," 2) those that were similar to the first with no glaciers, and 3) a land that "was high and mountainous, and topped by a glacier." In none of these lands did the ship land, but with a favourable wind the ship sailed eastward until it came to Eirik's home, Brattahlid in West Greenland. Bjarni probably had sighted but not landed on Newfoundland, Labrador and

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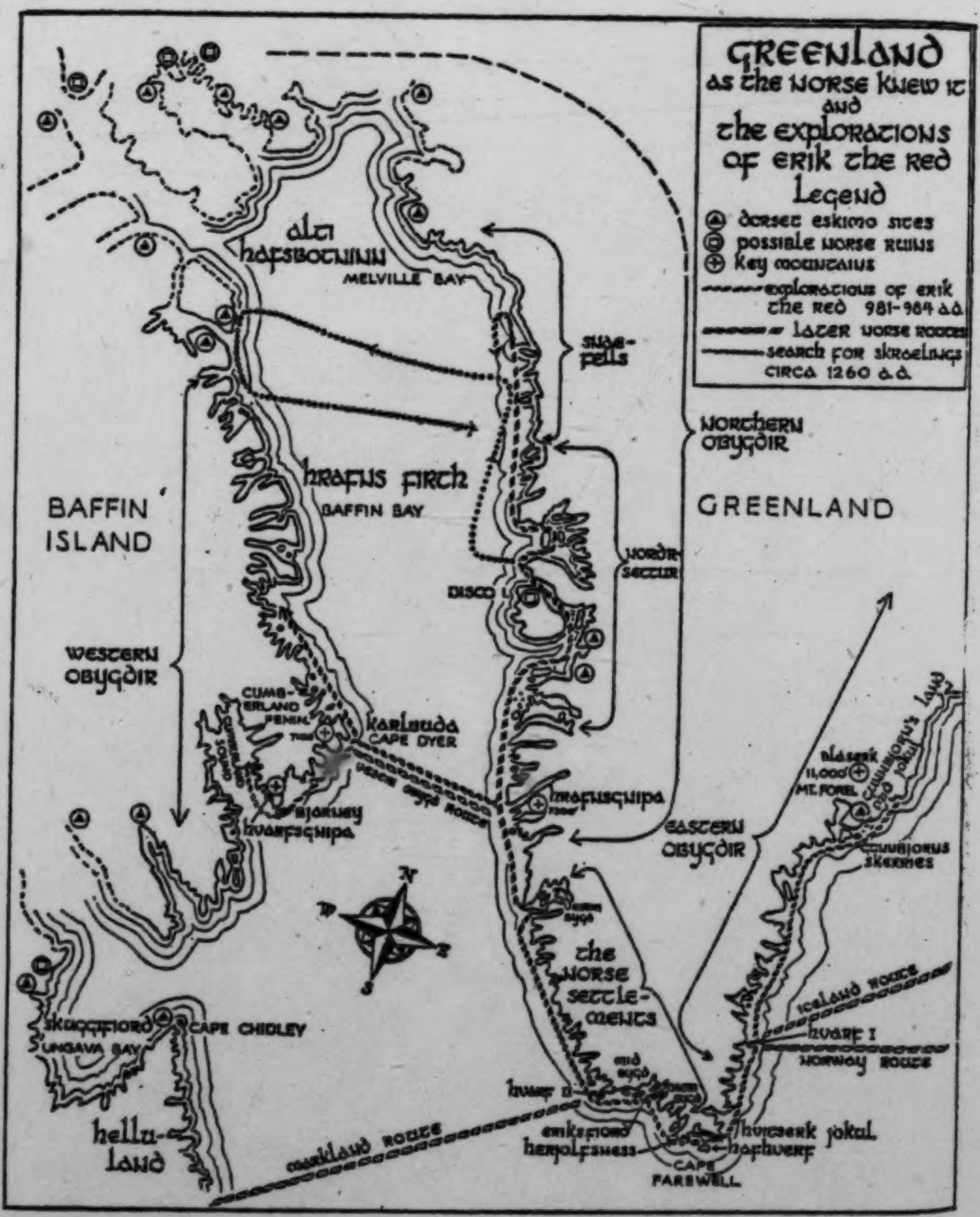
[7] Ibid., pp. 51-54.


GREENLAND
as the Norse knew it
and
the explorations
of Erik the Red
Legend
dorset eskimo sites
possible Norse ruins
key mountains
explorations of Erik the Red 981-984 A.D.
later Norse routes
search for Skraelings circa 1260 A.D.
alti hafsbotninn
MELVILLE BAY
snae-fells
NORTHERN OBYGDIR
hrafns firth
BAFFIN BAY
BAFFIN ISLAND
GREENLAND
DISCO
nordr-setur
WESTERN OBYGDIR
CUMBERLAND PENIN.
karlbuda
CAPE DYER
bjorney
hvarfsgnipa
hrafnsgnipa
EASTERN OBYGDIR
blaserk
11,000
MT. FOREL
gunnbjorns skerries
the Norse settlements
western bygd
mid bygd
eastern bygd
iceland route
hvarf I
norway route
hvarf II
eriksfiord
herjolfsness
hvitserk jokul
hofhverf
CAPE FAREWELL
markland route
skuggifiord
CAPE CHIDLEY
UNGAVA BAY
hellu-land
N
E
S
W

Map 7. Greenland, As the Norse Knew It

From: Farley Mowat, Westviking: The Ancient Norse in Greenland and North America (Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 25.

Baffin.[8]

(3) "Hidden Adversaries:" "Vinland Voyage of Leif Eiriksson" - c1000

Eirik had three sons and a daughter. Filled with the tales of the exploits of the father and Bjarni, each of the offspring made his attempt at getting to what they considered new land. Leif Eiriksson visited in reverse order the lands of Bjarni. First, Leif set foot on the "grassless, rocky and barren" Helluland, meaning "slab land." Then he came to a flat and wooded land which he named Markland or "forest land" and finally came Vinland which he found to be "grassy." Here Leif built his "booth," wintered and then set sail for Brattahlid. Leif had landed, in all probability, on Baffin Island[9], Labrador[10] and Vinland[11]. The Norse had established the route; they recognized the worth of each of the three lands they had visited. The Norse had yet to meet the Skraeling.

Thorvald, Leif's brother, set out for Vinland in 1004 with a crew of thirty. They found Leif's booth, wintered and in the spring sailed eastward but a storm drove them on the rocks and shattered the keel of their ship. The Norse had to remain on a headland called Kjalarness until they could repair the keel. After further sailing, they landed and discovered three skin boats with three men sleeping under each boat. Here is the first reported encounter of European men with North American men. The Graenlendinga Saga reports thus:

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[8] Cooke and Holland, op. cit., p. 14.

[9] Magnussen, op. cit., p. 54.

[10] Ibid., p. 55.

[11] Ibid., p. 55.

> . . . Thorvald and his men divided forces and captured all of them except one, who escaped in his boat. They killed the other eight and returned to the headland, from which they scanned the surrounding country. They could make out a number of humps farther up the fjord and concluded that these were settlements.[12]

No reason is given for the killing by the writer or few details of what ensued. There is a certain resourcefulness exhibited by the person who escaped. The Norse expected trouble and they now took the precaution of looking about them for trouble. This expectancy must have been in their minds for the saga writer fancifully tells of a warning voice which came to them when they slept. A great swarm of skin boats converged on the party and in the ensuing battle Thorvald was killed. Said Thorvald, before he died,

> I advise you now to go back as soon as you can. But first I want you to take me to the headland I thought so suitable for a home. I seem to have hit on the truth when I said I would settle there for a while. Bury me there and put crosses at my head and feet, and let the place be called Krossanes for ever afterwards.[13]

And so the first known cross is planted in America. The Norse knew they could not hold this land as Thorvald indicates. The Norse knew the skills of the people which they called "Skraeling" or "screamers." The Norse recognized good fighters and good sailors. The Skraeling had both these qualities. What little the Norse knew of the living conditions of the Skraeling, the Norse inferred a wretched people living in bad conditions.

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[12] Ibid., p. 60.

[13] Ibid., p. 61.

But the overshadowing fear that haunted the Norse was that the Skraeling challenged security of Norse occupation. The Norse could brook no other occupants. The Norse could respect the fighting qualities of the Skraeling and the sure-fire retribution that the Skraeling practised to revenge the slain countrymen -- this the Norse understood. This episode tells more of the frame of reference of the Norse than it does of their image of the Skraeling but inference can be made as to the Norse image of the Skraeling from the frame of reference of the Norse.

(4) "The Threatening Inhabitants:" The Vinland Voyage of Thorfinn Karlsefni: c1000

The third son of Eirik, Thornstein, made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Vinland. Thorstein died shortly after but Thorstein's wife, Gudrid, married again. The new husband, Thorfinn Karlsefni, and Gudrid made a colonizing expedition to Vinland and this trip is described in both Sagas. Each Saga supplies differing details but when taken together images of the Skraeling are depicted.

According to the Graenlendinga Saga, Karlsefni and Gudrid gathered a party of sixty men and five women to journey to Vinland. To help make the colony permanent, they took cattle. They wintered in Leif's Vinland booths and then came the encounters with the Skraeling.

The Skraeling came to trade with the Norse but in so doing encountered the bull who was frisky and spirited from eating the rich grass of the meadows. Terrified, the Skraeling ran to the Norse buildings. While Karlsefni refused the Skraeling entry to the buildings, he agreed to barter. The Skraeling wanted Norse weapons but Karlsefni, with an eye to defence, ordered milk to be the Norse medium of exchange.

When the Skraeling had gone away, Karlsefni realized how defenceless his habitation was and so constructed a pallisade. The next winter, the Skraeling came again to trade. Gudrid had an encounter with one of the women. Gudrid said to the woman, "My name is Gudrid. What is yours?" Apparently the woman mimicked Guidrid's speech and repeated the same phrases. The teller of the saga makes this act seem ominous. A brawl among the men interrupted the incident. A Skraeling had attempted to take a Norse weapon and hostilities broke out again. In the ensuing battle, the Skraeling fled.

Karlsefni recognized the inevitability of another battle but he determined that the battle be on ground that favoured the Norse. Karlsefni maneuvered so as to entice the Skraeling to enter a plain bounded by a lake and woods. Many Skraelings died in the encounter.[14] During the course of the battle, Karlsefni noted one tall, handsome Skraeling who seemed to be the leader. Tallness in Norse terms equated with handsomeness because the Norse were taller than the Skraeling. Another of the Skraeling had come into possession of one of the Norse axes. This Skraeling swung the axe and it accidentally hit one of his compatriots. Surprised at the cutting edge, downcast at the damage to his compatriot, first in awe and then disparagement, the Skraeling finally threw the axe away. Finally, recognizing the armed superiority of the Norse, the Skraeling fled.

The above account, a Norse one, illustrates the jealous guardianship which the Norse had of their possessions. It reveals the suspiciousness whereby the Norse regarded any move made by the Skraeling. Gudrid regards the Skraeling speech as ominous. Karlsefni regards curiosity as to the weapons and iron as covetousness. The Norse finally manipulate the Skraeling to enter a field of battle favourable to a Norse victory. Any sign of aggressive behaviour seems to emanate from the Norse activities. It is the Norse that transform curiosity into covetousness, approach into attack, and awe and unfamiliarity into deceit and design.

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[14] Ibid., p. 66.

The _Eirik's Saga_ gives more details on personnel who accompanied Karlsefni, events that occurred on the expedition, and descriptions of places visited before Vinland was reached.

The first winter, food scarcity prevailed but the animals had plenty of pasture. The Norse encountered a stranded whale whose meat gave them food poisoning. The next spring, a portion of the party decided to sail northward while Karlsefni decided to go further south. In the course of the southward journey, Karlsefni came upon nine skin boats. The Skraeling signalled. Karlsefni displayed white shields as a sign of peace. Both groups landed. The saga writer says, "They, the Skraeling, were small and evil looking, and their hair was coarse; they had large eyes and broad cheekbones. They stayed there for a while, marveling, and then rowed away south round the headland."[15] What the Norse really expected was the Skraeling to be like the Norse in both manner, speech and physical attributes. When the Skraeling appeared otherwise, then the Norse converted difference into suspicious circumstance. How the Norse determined "evil looking" and "marveling" is hard to determine. It was probably because the Skraeling were different.

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[15] Ibid., p. 98.

Karlsefni remained in the above place for the winter. In the spring, one morning a "great horde" of skin boats approached. The Skraeling gave indication that they wanted to barter. Karlsefni found red cloth to be a desirable commodity in Skraeling eyes. As the barter went on, and the supply of red cloth dwindled, Karlsefni would only trade for smaller pieces of red cloth. The bull interrupted the trading session and the Skraeling fled.

Three weeks later, again the Skraeling approached in the skin boats. This time Karlsefni interpreted the nearing Skraeling to be unfriendly. A fierce battle occurred with the Skraeling hoisting a "large sphere on a pole; it was dark blue in colour. It came flying in over the heads of Karlsefni's men and made an ugly din when it struck the ground."[16] This time the Norse "marveled" and fled as they did so. Here, Freydis rallied the Norse to counterattack the Skraeling and forced the latter to flee. The saga writer says, "Karlsefni and his men had realized by now that although the land was excellent they could never live there in safety or freedom from fear, because of the native inhabitants."[17] This, from the Norse, was an accolade for the Skraeling. The Skraeling prowess as warriors and sailors had been grudgingly recognized by the Norse.

Karlsefni made preparation to leave. When they sailed north along the coast, they encountered five Skraeling clad in skins, asleep.

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[16] Ibid., p. 99.

[17] Ibid., p. 99.

Beside the Skraeling they found containers filled with deerfat mixed with blood, which sounds very much like pemmican. Assuming the men to be outlaws, and without giving any reasons why the men were so considered unless it be that the blood in the containers be human blood, Karlsefni had the five killed.

Karlsefni sailed south and came to a river which flowed from west to east into the sea. This could have been the St. Lawrence. Here, the Norse met what the Eirik's Saga refers to as a Uniped. Thorvald, Eirik's son, was killed by an arrow shot by the Uniped. While it could be that the Skraeling were everywhere unfriendly, it could also be that news of the unfriendly Norse had spread all along the coast. Leaving the country of the Uniped, the Norse returned to Straumfjord, Leif's booth, and spent a third winter there. It was at Straumfjord, in the first year of the expedition, that the first known white child, Snorri, was born in America.

Finally, the Norse party decided to return home but they landed in Markland. Here they encountered five Skraeling -- a bearded man, two women and two boys. The boys were captured but the others escaped. The boys were kept with the Norse and the first tale of native North Americans is recorded. The boys reported that the land of the Skraeling was ruled by two kings or leaders by the names of Avaldaman and Valdidida. Further, they said, the Skraeling had no houses but lived in the ground. The boys said that their mother was called Vaetild and their father Ovaegir. The boys also told of a country across from the land of the Skraeling wherein the people wore white clothing and carried poles with patches of cloth attached who paraded, uttering loud cries. How the boys managed to inform the Norse of these things is difficult to say.

Magnussen has interpreted the Skraeling boys as telling of religious processions that took place in Greenland.[18] If this interpretation were true, it would mean that the Skraeling in America had witnessed the Christian colonies which existed in Greenland at that time. Some ethnologists have analyzed the names given by the boys (Vaetild, Ovaegir, Avaldaman and Valdidida) as having Inuktitut characteristics.[19]

Karlsefni then continued his voyage home to Greenland, never to return.

Karlsefni met the Skraeling on eight occasions. Barter took place on the first, not without suspicion on Karlsefni's part but the Norse built pallisades. A brawl took place on the second. Karlsefni plotted a battle field for the third and enticed the Skraeling into battle. The fourth occasion could be called a "stand off" with either side observing the other and Karlsefni remarking on the "evil" visage of the Skraeling. On the fifth meeting, both parties engaged in barter marked by the Norse inflating the value of their red cloth. In the sixth encounter, Karlsefni determined the Skraeling as unfriendly and utilizing a strange weapon. The Norse buoyed by the heroics of Freydis managed to win the battle but lost the war in that they decided to go home because, to their minds, the Skraeling would never leave them in peace. In the seventh, they had the unfriendly experience with the Uniped and in the eighth they captured the two boys. Three of the meetings were peaceful but marked by suspicion on the part of the Norse.

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[18] Ibid., p. 102.

[19] Ibid., p. 102.

(5) A Brawling Crew: The Vinland Voyage of Freydis, Helgi and Finnbogi: c1000

Freydis, illegitimate daughter of Eirik the Red and half sister to Thorvald, Thorstein and Leif, now had her opportunity to lead a colonizing expedition. The sire and the three other offspring had already expended their energies on such enterprises.

Helgi and Finnbogi, Norwegian brothers, agreed with Freydis and her crew that each of the two groups would take equal numbers of men from Greenland to Vinland. Freydis smuggled more men aboard her ship and, in consequence, had a manpower advantage once Leif's booths were reached. Further, she plotted and manipulated until civil war broke out between the two groups with the Freydis party eventually victorious.

The voyage serves to illustrate the brawling, aggressive nature of the Norsemen. The jealousy, duplicity and evil intent of Freydis are dwelt on by the Graenlendinga Saga author. The story demonstrates why a successful colony could not be established and maintained in the face of Skraeling numerical authority.

The Period Between the Norse of the Sagas and Frobisher in 1576

The later sagas indicate that the Norse had further contact with mainland America and also declare that the Inuit had contact with the Norse in Greenland.

Adam of Bremen, c1075, indicates that Vinland existed. King Svein Ulfsson (nephew of King Canute the Great of England) and King of Denmark knew that Vinland existed or so Adam reported.[20] Ari Thorgelsson in 1122-33 in the Book of the Icelanders described the "Skrelling."[21] Historica Norwegiae recounted that the Skraeling lived to the northwest of Greenland.[22] The Inventio Fortunata (1364) refers to the Skraeling. Claudius Clavius Swart (1400), Michel Beheim (1450), the Archbishop of Nidares-Erik Walkendorf (1500), Stefansson (1590) and Gerhard Mercator (1569) all refer to the Skraeling and give information both about them and where they lived. The literature leaves no doubt but that the Skraeling lived and had contact with the Norse colonies which existed in East and West Greenland.

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[20] Magnussen, op. cit., p. 25.

Ange Rousell, in 1930, in the northwest corner of the church yard at Sandness in the ancient western settlement of Greenland, found an arrowhead of the same kind of quartzite as found in Labrador and the same kind of arrowhead as Medgard found in 1956 at Lake Melville, Labrador, where the saga indicated that Thorvald Eiriksson was killed.[23] Danish archaeologists have identified chests found at Herjolfness-Ikigait in Southwest Greenland that were made of larch native to Labrador or Newfoundland.[24]

Oleson cites Norse built bear traps on the coasts of Labrador, Jones and Smith Sounds.[25] In Northern Greenland, Oleson notes three cairns and a small rune stone at Kingiktorsuak. The rune stone date as determined by runologists is 1333. Further, Therkel Mathiassen reports a small wooden doll with a long, narrow robe and hood over the head which is a reproduction of medieval Icelandic costume in Greenland.[26] The doll, uncovered in Baffin Island, substantiates the fact that long after the voyage of c1000 there was prolonged contact between the descendants of the Skraeling and the Norse colonists both in America and Greenland.

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[21] Ibid., p. 29.

[22] Ibid., p. 48.

[23] Erngaard, op. cit., p. 21.

[24] Ibid., p. 25.

[25] Tryggvi J. Oleson, Early Voyages and Northern Approaches: 1000-1632 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), pp. 256-60.

Many of the journals utilized in this study keep returning to this continued contact. George Best, in reporting Martin Frobisher's visit to Baffin in 1578, refers to the iron tipped arrows of the natives.[27] Edward Sillman, who wrote a narrative about the same voyage, reported finding "nayles like scupper nayles, and a tryvet of iron."[28]

John Davis reports visiting the Inuit in the 1580's who produced salt and who knew the meaning of both shaking and kissing hands -- these were European fashions.[29] Edward Parry (1823), George F. Lyon (1823), Charles Francis Hall (1860), George F. Nares (1875), Fridtjof Nansen, Adolphus Greely (1886), Roald Amundsen, Otto Sverdrup (1904), Robert E. Peary (1910), Vilhjalmur Stefansson (1921) and Knud Rasmussen (1927) all make reference to this continuing contact between the ancestors of the Inuit and the Norse colonies.

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[26] Erngaard, op. cit., p. 114.

[27] Vilhjalmur Stefansson, The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India by the North-west, A.D. 1576-78. From the original 1578 text by George Best, together with numerous other versions, additions, etc. Now edited, with preface, introduction, notes, appendixes and bibliography (London: Argonaut Press, 1938), Vol. I, p. 125.

[28] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 56.

[29] Albert Hastings Markham, ed., The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator (London: Hakluyt Society, 1880), p. 8.

That continued contact occurred after the initial introduction as described in the Sagas is clear. The Rasmussen description of an expedition by Qitdlarssuaq in 1865 illustrates a comparatively modern replica of Inuit journeys that had happened many times before. Norse and Inuit had prolonged contact between c1000 and 1576.

(60) An Inuit Expedition to Greenland: Qitdlarssuaq and the Thirty-Eight, 1865

Those Skraeling, of whom the Sagas speak, are North American. No other people had been encountered in Greenland so there was no other source from which the Norse could get their descriptions. Further, the west and east Greenland colonies did flourish. It is likely that the Norse did visit the hinterland on the west side of Davis Strait during the period 1000 to 1500 because climactic conditions were much better before 1650 when the Little Ice Age began.

The Greenlandic colonies flourished for one hundred years. By that time they had about 10,000 people in 290 farms for about 200 miles along the coast from Cape Farewell to the Holstenborg district.[30] But Ivar Boardson, from Gardas, Greenland, gives an account of his last visit to the Western settlement: ". . . when we arrived at the place no people were there, neither Christian nor heathen, only stray cattle and sheep of which we helped ourselves until the ships could hold no more."[31]

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[30] Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Northwest to Fortune. The Search of Western Man for a Commercially Practical Route to the Far East (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960), p. 15.

[31] Erngaard, op. cit., p. 22.

This marked the end of the Western Settlement in 1350 and the Eastern Settlement saw its end shortly thereafter.

The question now becomes why did these colonies cease to function? Icelandic legends of 1379 tell of certain events. "The Skrelling (sic) attacked the Norsemen, killed eighteen men and took two boys as thralls."[32] There exist in Greenland woodcuts done by the Greenlandic artist Aaron from Kangeq. They are based on Inuit stories. According to Aaron, the Inuit and Norse lived peaceably side by side. An Inuit girl, Navaranaq, caused a quarrel by spreading rumours. Hostilities broke out and the Norse were defeated.

Whether it be the Inuit, epidemic or weakness from intermarriage, irritation that the church held all the land, desertion for the freedom of the frontier, wild attacks from Irish and Scot pirates or climactic change, the result is the same. The Norse colonies vanished. The first European colonies in America disappeared but the Inuit established new settlements and the Inuit came from the Canadian Archipelago. This is the image that returns again and again in the later journals. An indigenous North American people moved into a new area and occupied and perhaps were instrumental in causing the disappearance of European colonies.

The Skraeling were the Dorsets. The Thule of whale culture replaced them. The Thule people came onto this eastern stage after the beginning of the Little Ice Age in 1650. They remained on the scene until about 1850 when the Inuit were forced to look for other sources of supply than the whale. The whale, due to a number of factors, disappeared from its usual haunts. The mainstay of living of the Thule people gone, the people had to move about after game and this led to the development of a new culture based on following game, new modes of transport and the use of the igloo.

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[32] Ibid., p. 22.

These migrations have to be imagined but there is one story of the Inuit oral tradition which can be historically validated. The tale is one of the last migrations of Thule people into Greenland about 1865. Knud Rasmussen met Merqusâq, a participant in this expedition, in 1915 at Cape York in Greenland.[33]

In essence, Merqusâq's account is as follows: Merqusâq's mother gave birth to him on the sea ice and ever since he had been a great traveller. Merqusâq lived in Baffin Island and occasionally the ships of the white men landed there. One of the great magicians of the tribe, Qitdlarssuaq (Qidlak, Kridluk, Qidlarjuaq) became the leader of this expedition.

Qitdlarssuaq had heard that there were other Inuit across the sea from Baffin Island. Probably Captain Inglefield had told Qitdlarssuaq when the former visited Baffin Island. At any rate, Qitdlarssuaq convinced thirty-eight people to accompany him on an expedition to visit the people across the Straits. Merqusâq named each of the thirty-eight people[34] and they travelled in ten sleds. They carried their belongings with them and lived off the game available in the country through which they passed. The sleds were drawn by as many as twenty dogs. The party traversed glaciers and when the coldest part of the winter set in they made camp beside good fishing places. For two winters they did this without ever suffering for want of food. But dissension set in and Ogé decided, with twenty-four others, to turn back, but fourteen people and five sleds continued. This latter party crossed the sea and came upon houses on land but the houses were empty of people. They came upon a reindeer herd at Eta and finally met two sleds driven by Arrutsak and Agina. These were the people that the party had come to meet. The combined party travelled to the settlement of Pitoravik and the whole village celebrated with their guests. Qitdlarssuaq and his party taught the new people how to build igloos with long tunnels. They taught them the use of the bow and arrow, how to spear salmon in streams, how to build kayaks and to hunt and catch seal from the kayaks. Qitdlarssuaq adopted the sled of the people of Pitoravik so there was mutual exchange.

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[33] Knud Rasmussen, The People of the Polar North: A Record (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1980), pp. 23-26.

[34] Ibid., p. 27.

After six years, Qitdlarssuaq decided to return to his homeland. Twelve of his old companions agreed to return but Qitdlarssuaq died in the first winter of the return. After Qitdlarssuaq's dealth, things went badly for the travellers. It took five years for the remaining party to eventually get home. Only four -- Alega, Qangap, Pauluna and Inoqusiaq -- survived the trip.

Finn Gad estimates that 2100 kilometers were travelled by the party. Finn Gad comments:

> As a counterpart to this [trip] we know of routine hunting expeditions which the Polar Eskimos made annually, and still often undertake, across Smith Sound to Ellesmere Island, which they regard as their natural hunting ground. It was along this route, across the open waters of Baffin Bay, with Smith Sound icebound most of the year, that the migrations passed. This is Greenland's gateway to

the west.[35]

Gad reinforces Rasmussen in giving an image of the Inuit as a people on the move. The journals collectively between 1576 and Rasmussen tend to give a picture of indigenous people waiting in one spot until the next visitor happened along.

It is almost impossible to separate Greenland from the Canadian Arctic story during the time period covered by this study. The study begins with the Norse settlements in Greenland and ends with the Qitdlarssuaq party's return to Baffin around 1880. Greenland is the shore on which the eastward migrations of the Inuit dissipated. Greenland is the base from which so many expeditions made their last stop before entering Hudson Strait, Davis Strait or Baffin Bay.

The Images of the Skraeling as Portrayed by the Sagas

Emanating out of the Sagas come portraits of the Skraeling. Eirik the Red saw examples of the presence of the Skraeling when he sailed westward from Brattahlid. So did Leif in the lands he visited but not until Karlsefni is there actual contact between the two peoples.

Thorvald killed eight of the nine men sleeping under the boats. No reason is given but the Sagas indicate that the Skraeling sought revenge and so Thorvald died. Karlsefni actually traded with the Skraeling but, haunted with suspicion, restricted trade, built pallisades for protection or manipulated the Skraeling onto a field wherein the latter were disadvantaged. Gudrid met a feminine counterpart but even these actions of the counterpart had a sinister connotation.

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[35] Gad, op. cit., p. 56.

The Norse considered the Skraeling to be wretched, vicious, sinister and aggressive. The Skraeling possessed vengeful, animal-like, acquisitive characteristics. They cheated, stole and had little sense of respect for property. The Norse held grudging respect for even the presence of relics but the respect, intermingled with fear, grew to loathing. The Norse described their enemy, for that was what the Skraeling symbolized to the Norse minds, as possessing evil visages, big eyes, broad cheeks, coarse hair, small stature and wild appearance. The Skraeling, according to the Sagas, lived off the results of the hunt, sailed their skin boats with alacrity, used stone weapons, dwelt in subterranean homes and used a pounded, bloody meat. The Norse saw themselves -- the hunter, the sailor, the warrior -- in the Skraeling but the differences in the mode of living and appearance heightened the suspicions of the Norse. Thus sameness and difference combined to provide evidence of the dangerousness of the Skraeling in the Norse mind.

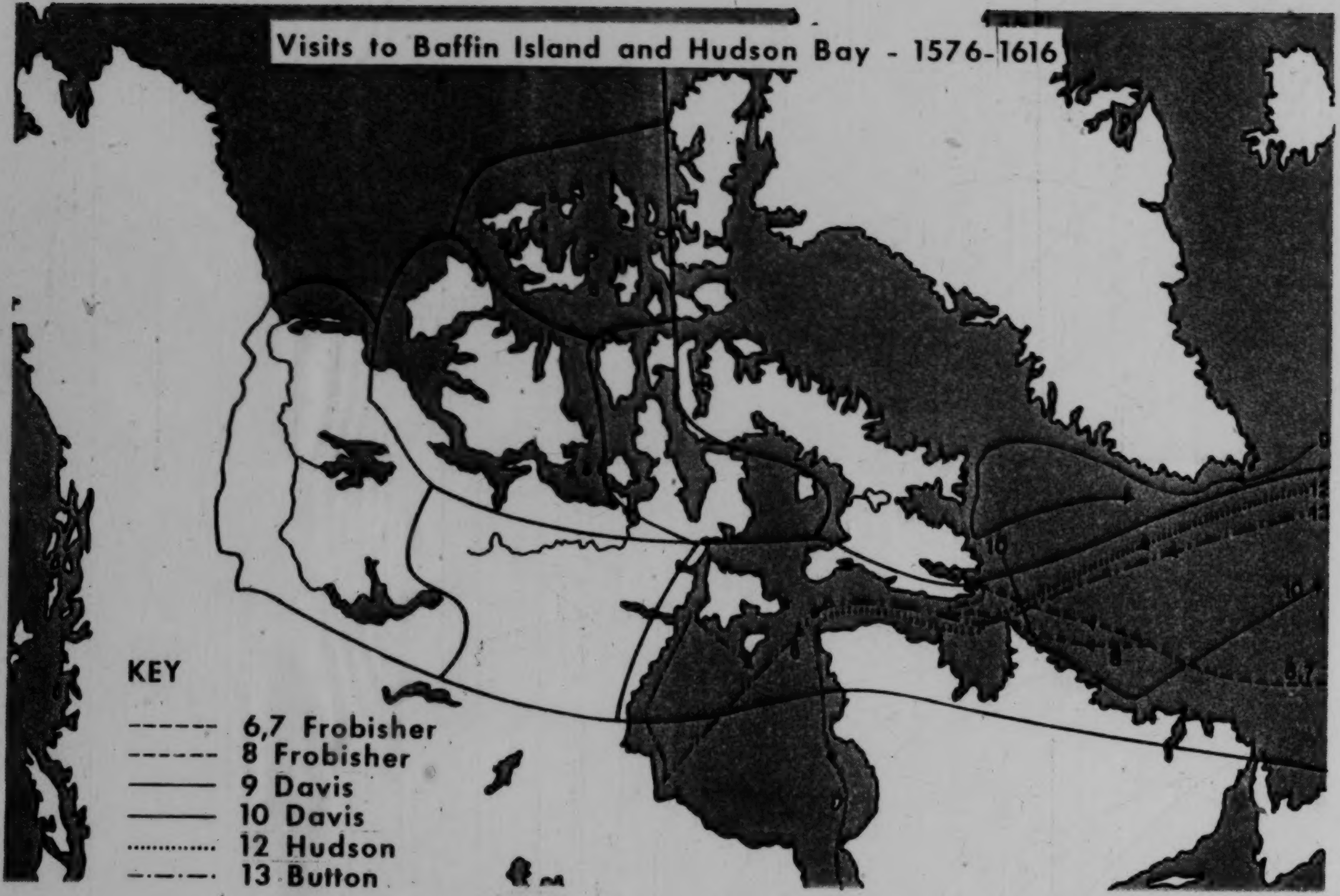
Frame of Reference of the Portrayers

The Norse had a greed to possess the land; any occupant of the land the Norse wanted was a threat. Even the relics of former occupancy of Greenland caused Eirik to scout his new findings carefully. Defence was the watchword for building his Greenlandic home. He made certain that a way of life was possible and without challenge. Leif schemed in the same manner. Thorvald attempted to remove all threats and Karlsefni, with suspicion and villainy, manipulated the Skraeling into disadvantaged positions. Calculation, dominance and suspicion held the Norse mind. The Skraeling represented resistance. They symbolized the enemy just by existing where the Norse wanted to live. The Skraeling were malingering, threatening objects of evil, not people.

Who Influenced Whom and Why?

Two such people could not coexist. The Norse, inflamed by the very presence of such existence, walled out the Skraeling. The Skraeling, driven by curiosity, wanted a closer view. Angered by the hostility of the Norse, the Skraeling sought revenge for their slain companions. Curiosity caused the Skraeling to seek out the Norse, but the Norse interpreted the curiosity as intervention.

As the Skraeling travelled eastward and the Norse hunted westward, inevitably the two groups met in the Arctic Archipelago and in Northern Greenland. No one knows the immediate results of those meetings but one long range result becomes very clear -- the first European colonies in Greenland prospered and then failed. By the 1600's only the Inuit possessed the field.


Visits to Baffin Island and Hudson Bay - 1576-1616
KEY
6,7 Frobisher
8 Frobisher
9 Davis
10 Davis
12 Hudson
13 Button
16
10
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6,7
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13
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CHAPTER 4

"A BRUTAL AND UNCIVIL PEOPLE" (1576-1615)

The voyages of Martin Frobisher, John Davis, James Hall, John Knight, John Cunningham, Henry Hudson, Thomas Button, Robert Bylot and William Baffin in the years 1576 to 1615 are examined in this chapter. Fleeting glimpses of the Inuit and Dene were given by the authors of the journals. Whereas the authors recorded their image of the native people, the latter also remembered the visitors via the oral tradition. The tenor of all these visits was illustrated by John White of the Frobisher 1577 expedition in the first European artist's sketch, which is on the following page.

The northern peace remained undisturbed until Martin Frobisher's guns sounded out over Meta Incognita in 1576. The expeditions of 1576-1615 generally visited areas which surround Baffin Bay, Hudson Strait and the northermost parts of Hudson Bay. Ancestors of the Polar, Baffin, Sadlermiut and Caribou Inuit were visited.

(6) Of Captives or Escapees: British North-west Passage Expedition of Martin Frobisher, 1576

By 1576, the English had begun the process of harrassing the Spaniards and the Portuguese. English nationals, with envious eyes, viewed the gains of the other two countries in the "New World." Martin Frobisher, sponsored by the Muscovy Company, with two ships plus a

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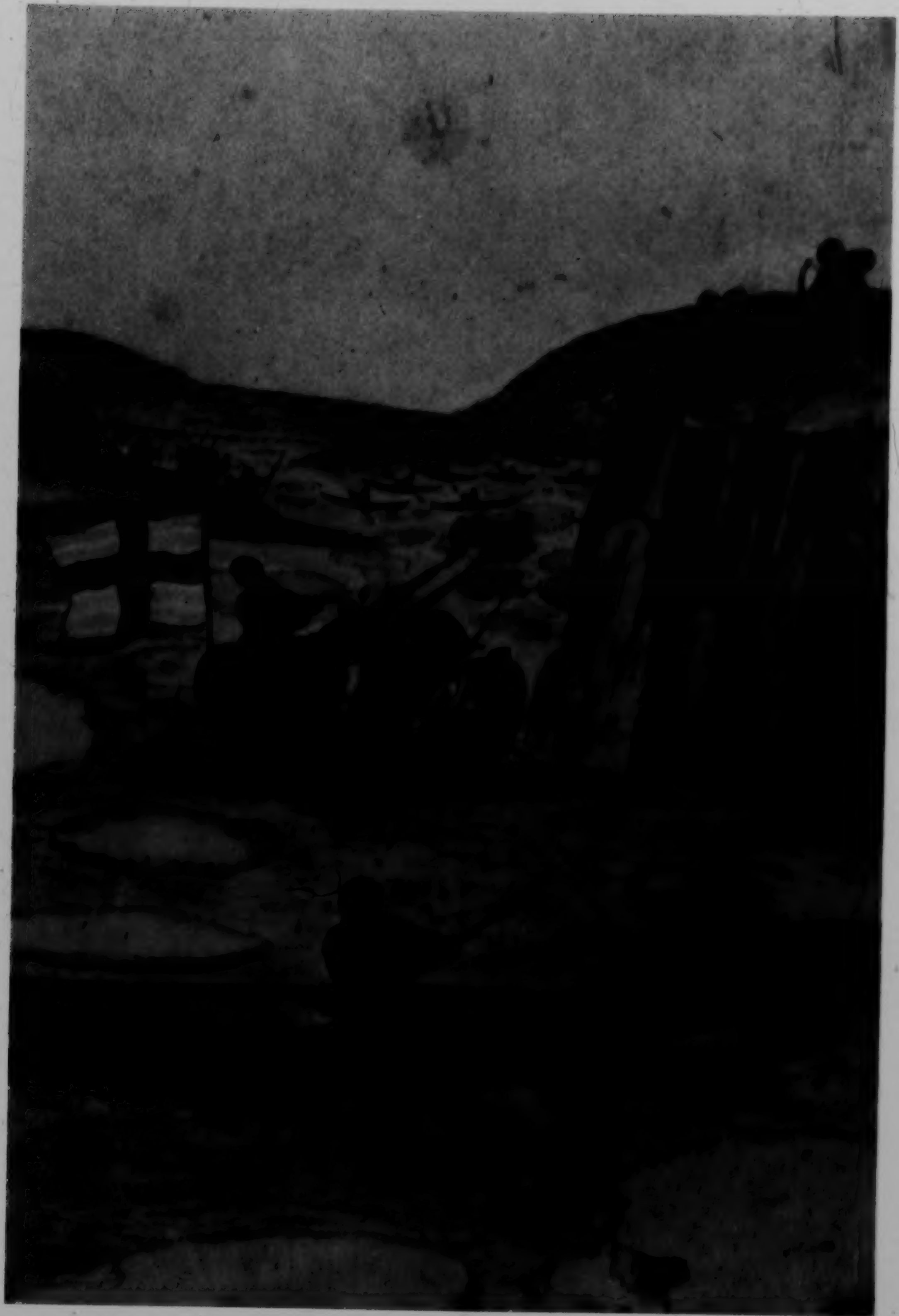
Facing - Map 8. Visits to Baffin Island and Hudson Bay, 1576-1616.



COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

Plate 1. Copy of a Painting by John White of
"A Skirmish With the Eskimos"

From: W. A. Kenyon, Tokens of Possession: The Northern Voyages of Martin Frobisher (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1975), p. 65.

pinnace sailed to the North West.[2] Only the Gabriel reached what Frobisher designated as Frobisher Strait.[3]

Michael Lok, a financial promoter of the expedition, described how, after the August 19 arrival, Frobisher and six men climbed a mountain on an island on the north side of the "strait" and saw strange boats approaching the island. Frobisher returned to the Gabriel where he agreed that one of the strangers come aboard the ship and an Englishman go ashore with the strangers. During the contact, Frobisher determined that the people were of a "nature given to fierceness and rapine," so he had the ship sail to the south shore of the strait for protection. Frobisher and party climbed a mountain, spied a village and again an umiak (boat) approached the Gabriel. Frobisher, being wary because his manpower numbered eighteen, retained one of the strangers in the Gabriel, while the captain visited the homes of the strangers. Lok reported what Frobisher saw and after the hostage stranger agreed to act as pilot to take the Gabriel westward, Frobisher allowed his only ship's boat to take the stranger to make arrangements ashore. The five men had secreted on their person trinkets which they wished to trade with the people. The crew rowed beyond the captain's vision and never did return. An old Inuit lady, Oo-ki-joxy Ni-noo told the Inuit version of the story to Charles Francis Hall in 1862.

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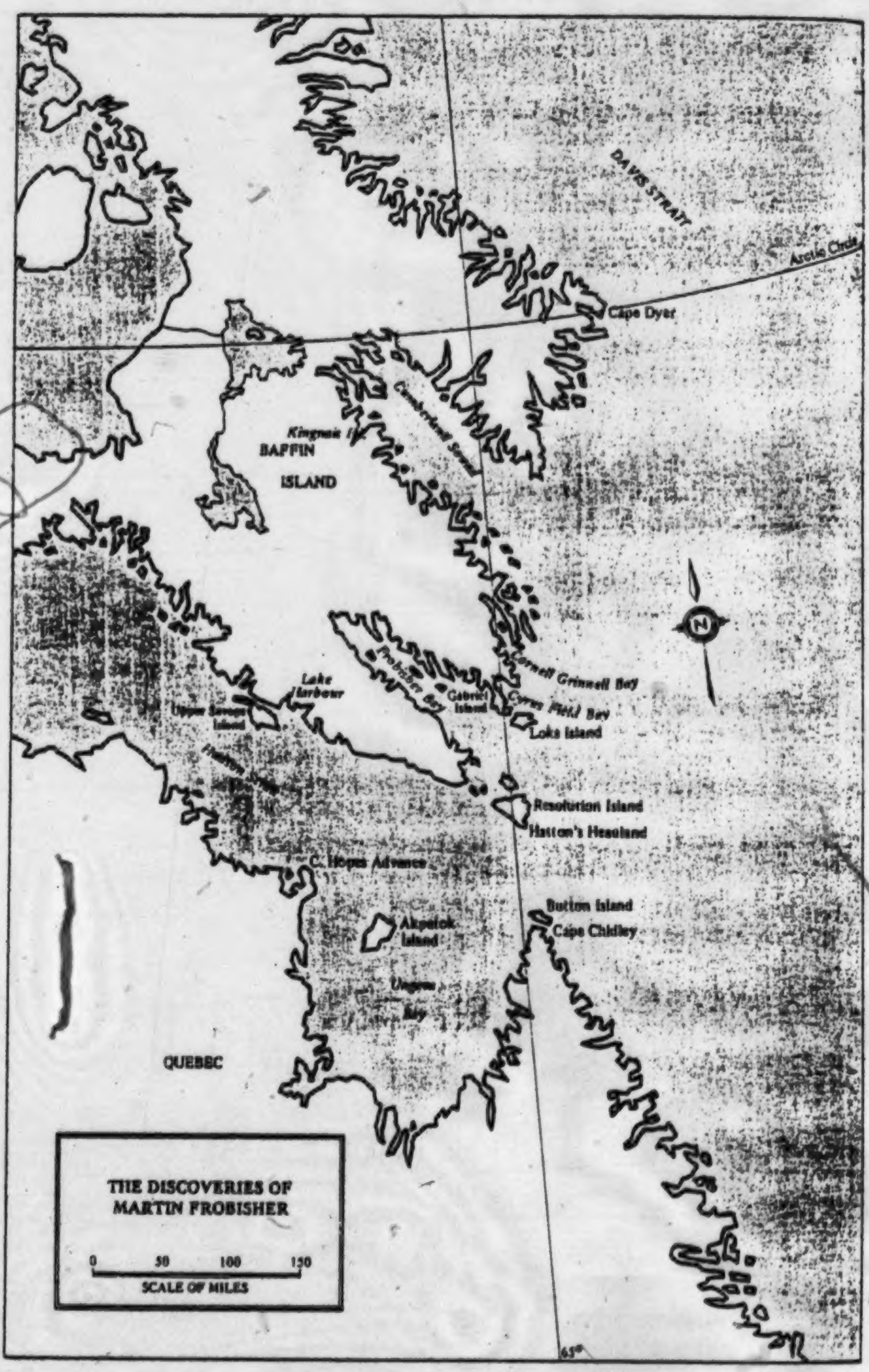
[2] Richard Collinson, The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in Search of a Passage to Cathia and India by the North-west A.D. 1576-78. Reprinted from the first edition of Hakluyt's voyages, with selections from manuscript documents in the British Museum and State Papers Office (London: Hakluyt Society, 1867; reprinted by Burt Franklin, New York, n.d., #18), p. 71.

[3] Ibid., p. 72.


DAVIS STRAIT
Arctic Circle
Cape Dyer
Cumberland Sound
Kingnait
BAFFIN
ISLAND
Countess of Warwick
Cornell Grinnell Bay
Lake
Harbour
Frobisher Bay
Gabriel
Island
Cyrus Field Bay
Loks Island
Upper Savage
Island
Hudson Strait
Resolution Island
Hatton's Headland
C. Hopes Advance
Button Island
Cape Chidley
Akpatok
Island
Ungava
Bay
QUEBEC
THE DISCOVERIES OF
MARTIN FROBISHER
0
50
100
150
SCALE OF MILES
65°

Map 9. Expeditions of Martin Frobisher

From: Farley Mowat, Ordeal by Ice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), p. 36.

Frobisher, hampered by the loss of the five men and the ship's only small boat, demonstrated his fury by sounding his trumpet and shooting salvos over the settlement. He sailed westward but returned three days later. Spying a small fleet of boats approaching the ship, he loaded his ordnance. The wily people kept their distance and only one man came near the ship. Frobisher decided to entice the man aboard so he had his crew remain hidden. Then Frobisher, alone, stood on deck and beckoned the stranger to come close to the Gabriel. When the man came alongside, Frobisher pulled man and boat aboard, and Frobisher had his captive.[4]

After a stay of fifteen days near Meta Incognita, Frobisher returned home, minus his five men but with a small quantity of rock plus the first captive from this part of the world to be taken to England.

The events of the fifteen days were remembered in the unlikeliest quarters. The rocks caused ripples of excitement in England while the captive and his boat "was a great wonder unto the whole city [London] and to the rest of the realm."

Frobisher had his opinion of the nature of the inhabitants early in his fifteen day visit. Frobisher's wary strategies which seemed to go awry, his quickness to judge after so short an acquaintance, and his fury at being outwitted by people who out-buccaneered him is apparent. That his men had been captured and faced severe trials, Frobisher never doubted; nor did he question the propriety of taking a prisoner to an England that "When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."[5] Even Elizabeth I enjoyed the antics of the captured Inuit and kayak but no mention is made of his return home.

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[4] Ibid., p. 73.

(7) Of Calichoghe, Natioc and Ignorth: British North-west Passage and Mining Expedition, Martin Frobisher, 1577

George Beste's account of the second voyage tells of the 1577 voyage of Frobisher, this time with three ships and 120 men. Five weeks were spent in *Meta Incognita*.[6]

Frobisher climbed Mount Warwick on arrival. Again the people of the country came and some bartering took place. Frobisher attempted to capture two of the Inuit. A fight ensued with the Englishmen taking to their boats in full flight and Frobisher taking an arrow in the buttocks.[7] Nicholas Conyes, in a counterattack, wrestled an Inuit to the ground and took him captive. Later, the captive's name became known as Calichoghe. Frobisher interrogated Calichoghe as to the fate of the five lost sailors. Calichoghe denied by signs that the five men had been slain or eaten by the Inuit.[8] Calichoghe showed the Englishmen how the Inuit harnessed dogs and used them for beasts of burden. The Englishmen investigated the subterranean houses and Beste wrote that the people "are a despised and wandering nation, as the Tartars, and live in hordes and troups without any certain abode."[9]

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[5] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. David Horne (New Haven: Yale University Press), II, 2, lines 30-32, p. 42.

[6] Collinson, op. cit., p. 117.

[7] Ibid., p. 131.

[8] Ibid., p. 139.

Later, the Englishmen searched an Inuit village when the Inuit had fled. They noted the raw flesh and viewed "a doublet of canvas made after the English fashion, a shirt, a girdle, three shoes for contrary feet and of unequal bigness."[10] They noted, too, that the doublet had rents which they conceived as being made by either arrows or knives.

The Englishmen managed to trap a party of Inuit. The English suffered one wounded man and Beste calculated five or six of the natives as slain. Beste describes the natives as fighting manfully and as casting themselves into the sea rather than being captured.[11] After the battle, the Englishmen discovered two women and a child who had hidden in the rocks. One of the women was old and very loathsome according to Beste. The men removed her footwear to see if she were a cloven-footed witch. The child of the younger woman had been hurt. Beste describes how the surgeon attempted to put salve on the hurt but the woman, Ignorth, licked the wound and would have nothing to do with the surgeon.[12] Frobisher made one more attempt to recapture his five lost men by attempting to use Calichoghe as bait but the Inuit kept their distance.

Calichoghe died of a congested lung condition on November 8, 1577, so a government report says.[13] How Natioc and Ignorth fared, there is no report.

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[9] Ibid., p. 139.

[10] Ibid., p. 140

[11] Ibid., p. 141.

[12] Ibid., p. 143.

[13] Ibid., pp. 187-89 or Colonial 59, Domestic Elizabeth CXVIII.

Frobisher returned to Meta Incognita labouring under his former image of the Inuit. His new experience led him to believe the Inuit were a "despised" wandering people. The Inuit had by now recognized the trickery and deceit of the English as evidenced by the Inuit flight whenever possible. When trapped, the Inuit fought bravely, choosing death rather than capture. Ignorth chose to treat her child rather than have the surgeon do so.

Frobisher's men reveal their belief in witchery on the occasion of examining the old woman captive. The crew watch the captives carefully and are amazed at the humanity shown by the captives to each other. Even the post mortem of Calichoghe, done in an age when death was not so carefully investigated, reveals that the English are not convinced of the humanness of this captive.

(8) Of Artifact and Oral Tradition: British Mining Expedition, Martin Frobisher, 1578

By now the fever for gold held the Englishmen in thrall. Frobisher gathered an armada of fifteen ships (the greatest number of ships of any Arctic expedition) and the objective was to leave a hundred men in Meta Incognita.[14] Storms buffeted the ships and one, carrying the house for the winter stay, sank. Frobisher blundered into the "Mistaken Straits" or the Hudson Strait, extracted his fleet and, finally, by July 13, 1578 reached Countess of Warwick Sound.[15]

Generally, the natives contented themselves with watching. Master Wolfall, an Anglican minister, had hoped to convert the "pagans" but the

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[14] Ibid., p. 226.

[15] Ibid., p. 242.

'pagans' kept beyond reach.[16] Frobisher intended to mine. He managed to build a house of lime and stone in which he placed articles for the purview of the natives. He buried the timber of the fort the Englishmen had intended to build and by the end of August set sail for home with his cargo of what would prove to be worthless ore.[17]

Frobisher, to his surprise, had found the natives a match for his war mentality. The natives had countered his every move. The natives had not been impressed by Frobisher's military maneuvers. The natives had retired beyond the rocks and utilized guerilla warfare to watch and then defend. Frobisher admitted that the natives had ingenuity in such things as the construction of their underground houses, their boats and the use of dogs for transport. Had Frobisher been other than a three summer visitor, he might have been even more impressed by the ingenuity of the people. Frobisher had only been in Meta Incognita for a total of about seventy-five days so he learned much about the people in short spans of time.

The Inuit were amazed at the boats, rock taking, the weapons and the antics of these bearded pirates. Three hundred years later their descendants tell of the five men from the first expedition who came to live with them and who were helped and even treated with kindness. Since it was dangerous to deal with these strange, hairy ones, all the Inuit could do was watch.

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[16] Ibid., p. 252.

[17] Ibid., p. 272.

(9) "A People of Tractable Conversation": British North-west Passage Expedition of John Davis in 1585

Elizabeth I of England granted a charter to the "Colleagues of the Discovery of the Northwest Passage" and so John Davis, with forty-two fellow Elizabethans, set out for the North-west.[18] The expedition was advised by Dr. John Dee, a Welsh astrologer. Two ships, the *Sunneshine* and the *Moonshine*, touched east Greenland and the Captain gave it the apt name of "The Land of Desolation." He rounded Cape Farewell and met the natives near the present site of Godthaab.[19] Here, Davis found a fleet of kayaks. This was the area of the West Settlement of the Norse. Now it had evidently been settled by the Thule people. Davis climbed a hill, caught sight of the people, and they of him. The people screamed; Davis returned the scream. The four musicians aboard the ship were rushed to the spot. The natives were enticed to the shore and barter began, all to the strains produced by the musicians.[20] Davis boarded his ships and the next morning a fleet of thirty-seven kayaks approached the ships. Davis took some men ashore and the Inuit mixed with them. "We were in so great with them upon this single acquaintance," said Davis, "that we could have anything they had."[21] Davis concluded, "They are a very tractable people, voyde of craft or double dealing, and easie to be brought to any civiltie or good."[22]

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[18] Albert Hastings, *The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1880. Works issued by Hakluyt Society, First Series, No. 59), p. 2.

[19] Ibid., p. 6.

[20] Ibid., p. 7.

[21] Ibid., p. 8.

[22] Ibid., p. 8.

Davis met the inhabitants a second time and commented, ". . . after they perceived we would have skins, and furs, that they would goe into the country and come againe the next day with such things as they had."[23] But Davis moved on to the other side of what became known as Davis Strait to Exeter Sound. Davis sailed south and eventually landed on the north shore of the entrance to Cumberland Sound. Here they found evidence of inhabitants, shot two dogs whom they thought to be wild, and discovered several sleds. Further, Davis found an "image" carved out of bone.

Over to the south shore of Cumberland Sound, they proceeded and again, when they went on shore, they saw "manifest signs" of the people, ". . . where they had made their fire, and laid stones like a wall."[24]

Having remained in the area twenty-seven days, Davis sailed for England.

On the Greenland side of the straits that bore his name, Davis found the Thule Inuit. On the western side, he found evidence of occupation and he coasted the eastern side of the Cumberland Peninsula and entered Cumberland Bay which was later to be the site of great whaling enterprises.

The image of the people on the Greenland side is of a people who are friendly, hospitable, eager to trade, with a love of music and social intercourse. A co-operative atmosphere seems to pervade this Davis visit.

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[23] Ibid., p. 9.

[24] Ibid., p. 13.

(10) To Every Family Add an Anthropologist: British North-west Passage Expedition - John Davis, 1586

On this expedition, Davis sent the Sunneshine and Northstorre to East Greenland while he served as commander of the Moonshine and Mermayde which went to the west side of Greenland.

The Davis portion of the expedition reached the Godthaab area once more and the inhabitants warmly greeted him. Davis made presents of a knife to each of his reception committee and the inhabitants offered skins in return. Davis now found he could not search among the islands because of the natives' desire to barter. He hit upon a strategy - send one boat to another part of the bay which would be followed by the natives and thus he could survey unhindered. This strategy he employed.[25]

Another day, some fifty "canoes" accompanied a ship's boat. The natives were most attentive -- even helping the Davis crew up and down the hills and rocks. Davis promoted leaping and wrestling contests. Football was even introduced. Says Henry Morgan:

> Many times they did weave us on shore to play with them at football, and some of our company went on shore to play with them, and our men did cast them down as soone as they did come to strike the ball.[26]

Davis described these people as of good stature, and well proportioned with small hands and feet. He noted their broad faces, small eyes, wide mouths, great lips and several had beards.

Davis' curiosity led him to their village. He considered them to be "idolators" because of the tiny ornaments they had carved from bone.

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[25] Ibid., p. 17.

[26] Ibid., p. 36.

He told of one occasion how the Inuit made a fire by using a board and a drill. Davis thought they were making incantations so he forcibly put out the fire. His frame of reference from England made him fear anything that was tainted by witchcraft. He said that they are "marvellous thievish, especially for iron, which they have in great amount. They began through our lenity to show theyr vile nature: they began to cut out cables."[27]

Even so, Davis lists about forty Inuit words used at the time. Later, Dr. Rink of the Royal Greenland Trade at Copenhagen and formerly Royal Inspector of South Greenland agreed that the words that Davis listed were similar to words used in Rink's time (Nineteenth Century).

The friendship between the English and Inuit began to fester and irritate. The iron proved too great a temptation for the Inuit. Cables were cut. At night the Inuit pelted the ships with stones shot by slings. Finally, Davis ordered a small gun and an ordnance fired. This served as a deterrent for a time.

But then the harrassment began again. Finally, the anchor was stolen. Davis went ashore, gave gifts and invited seven or so aboard. But in the evening, the stone pelting began again. In Davis' words:

> Whereat being moved, I changed my courtesie, and grew to hatred, my selfe in my owne boat well manned, with shot, and the barks boat likewise pursued them, and gave them divers shot, but to small purpose, by reason of they're swift rowing . . .[28]

A day or two later, five men came to make a truce. One of the five was recognized as the man who stole the anchor. Davis held him captive and reported, ". . . at length he became a pleasant companion among us. I gave him a new suite of frize after the English fashion."[29]

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[27] Ibid., p. 19.

[28] Ibid., p. 23.

But Davis sailed off to the western side of the Strait, captive included. This time they encountered the Middle Ice. Many in the crew were discontented so Davis sent the Mermayde home and he continued westward to Cape Walsingham on the Cumberland Peninsula. The Moonshine coasted south, noted the "current to the west" that came from Hudson Strait and ended up near either Hamilton Inlet of Labrador or the Strait of Belle Isle. Two of Davis' men were slain in a struggle with the natives at this place and then Davis returned home.

On this expedition, a pattern of intercultural relation occurred that is repeated in the times of Sir Edward Parry, Sir John Ross, Captain G. F. Lyon, C. F. Hall, R. Peary, and many others. When the natives are a source of curiosity, they are courted. Once the usefulness of the natives is expended, the natives are rejected. The natives don't like the rejection and trouble breaks out. The price of this type of intercultural communication is very high.

(11) Fox Hunt at Pangnirtung: The Third Voyage of John Davis, 1587

The third Arctic voyage of John Davis saw the Elizabeth, the Sunneshine and Ellin hampered by leakage and disrepair. The ships limped to west Greenland where they renewed acquaintance with the people. A pinnace had been assembled on land, but the natives discovered the pinnace and attempted to steal both lumber and iron. A shot was fired but the natives had managed to escape with many nails leaving the pinnace in ruins.

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[29] Ibid., p. 24.

The Elizabeth and the Ellin were assigned to fishing for cod off Labrador but the Sunneshine, though badly damaged, continued northward along the Greenland coast to 72° 12 Lat. Then the Sunneshine turned and sailed west until it ran into the Middle Pack of Ice. The ship had to return to the eastern side of Davis Strait. The natives sighted the ship. Says John Jones,

> We trucht with them for a few skinnes and dartes, and gave them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles, and cardes, they pointed to the shore as though they would show us great friendship; but we little regarding their curtesie, gave them the gentle farewell, and so departed.[30]

By July 24, the Sunneshine could cross to the west side. The dogs, which the ship carried, were loosed for exercise near the present site of Pangnirtung. Southward sailed the Sunneshine, and Jones notes the "overfals" of Hudson Strait. Shortly afterwards the ship headed back to England.

When the occasions presented themselves, the natives showed great desire for barter with Davis, but the early friendship had dissipated and Davis entered these contacts with distrustful and suspicious attitude.

Voyages of James Hall, John Knight and John Cunningham

James Hall, John Knight and John Cunningham had been suggested as worthy pilots by King James I of England to King Christian IV of Denmark. Hall had participated in John Davis' last voyage of 1587. Three vessels were commissioned by King Christian in 1605 and they were captained by Hall, Cunningham and Godske Lindenov. Lindenov kidnapped two Greenland inhabitants from Fiskenaesset. Cunningham and Knight kidnapped four Inuit but had to shoot one of them on the return journey because he was "indomitable."[31]

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[30] Ibid., p. 45.

A new expedition with five ships was organized in 1606 under Lindenov. Hall served as pilot. Three of the Greenland Eskimo were aboard but two died en route and the fate of the third is unknown.[32] Back Lindenov sailed to Greenland and when they landed they picked up cargoes of worthless ore plus five more unwilling Inuit from Greenland. Of them, says Lindenov:

> But the other ships came later to Greenland and had been 60 weeks of sea farther north off the country than the first ship; and they captured three Greenlanders, at great risk to their lives, and killed many of them before they were captured; they got a good wind and flew home. The Captain gave them blue clothes and had them take off their own, and he taught them to leap about the ship when he nodded to them; and when they came to Copenhagen, the 10th August, and made for the town, the Greenlanders ran upon the top-most platform and furled the top sail as quickly as any of the king's men. They were more intelligent and human than the other two, for the latter bit people like dogs, and every louse they found on themselves they ate. But the other three, when they came to the palace court-yard, ranabout, placed their hands on their waists, held their heads in their characteristic manner, and were pleased withal. It is believed that they are more likely to learn the language than the others.[33]

But James I now sent John Knight out as commander of an English expedition. Knight landed in Labrador. Knight went ashore and he and three men "were probably killed by Eskimos, who two days later tried to attack the ship."[34]

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[31] Ibid., p. 214.

[32] Ibid., p. 220.

[33] Oleson, op. cit., p. 78.

[34] Cooke, op. cit., p. 26.

James Hall met his end in Greenland when he returned in 1612. A number of Eskimos recognized him as the one who kidnapped relatives and plunged a fatal knife into his body.[35]

William Baffin, who accompanied Hall, says,

> We all mused that he should strike the Master, and offer no harm to any of the rest of us. Unless it were that they knew him since he was last there with the Danes. For out of that river they carried away five of the people, whereof never any returned again; and in the next river killed a great number. And it would seem that he who killed him was either brother or some near kinsmen known to some of them that were carried away. For he did it very resolutely and came within four yards of him.[36]

Baffin further states with understanding,

> For ought we could see the people are very kind to one another, and ready to avenge any wrong offered to them . . . Diverse of our men were of the opinion that they were man-eaters, if they could have caught us. But I do not think they would. For if they had been so minded, they might at one time have caught our cook, and two others with him, as they were filling of water at an island a great way from our ship.[37]

These expeditions reveal that the Europeans considered the native people as curios and felt quite justified in capturing and kidnapping them. The native people remembered what had happened in previous voyages and wreaked justified vengeance. The expeditions further report the disappearance of the East and West Settlements. It is also apparent that the native people met are still the Skraeling or the Dorset people. Isaac de la Peyrère, a Frenchman who visited Denmark and saw the five captives of 1606, describes them as two that were small and dirty and three that were cleaner and better physical types.[38]

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[35] Oleson, op. cit., p. 162.

[36] Frank Rasky, Polar Voyages (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Ltd., 1976), p. 208.

[37] Ibid., p. 208.

This may mean that the Thule people were moving in but it also indicates that the Dorset had previously moved in and occupied the southern Greenland coast.

(12) "But our Master Would Have Them Both [Skins]": Voyage of Henry Hudson 1610-11

Henry Hudson's 1610 journal covers the period from April 17 to August 1.[39] Hudson's voyage is marked on Map 10. The Journal of Abacak Prickett is the one relied upon for a report of encounters with the people of Hudson Bay. Hudson managed to penetrate the straits and made a stop at Digges Island near Cape Wolstenholme on the northwest tip of present-day Quebec. Says Prickett:

> Passing along wee saw some round hills of stone, like to grasse coches, which at the first I tooke to be the works of some Christian. Wee passed by them and there found more; and being nigh time I turned off the uppermost stone and found them hollow within and full of fowles hanged by their neckes.[40]

Hudson would not stay and the Discovery continued its way down the east coast of the Bay. By the first of November, the squabbling crew were anchored off the southeastern corner of James Bay. This was the first recorded wintering of a crew on the mainland of North America in such northerly latitudes. By the time of the spring break, Prickett

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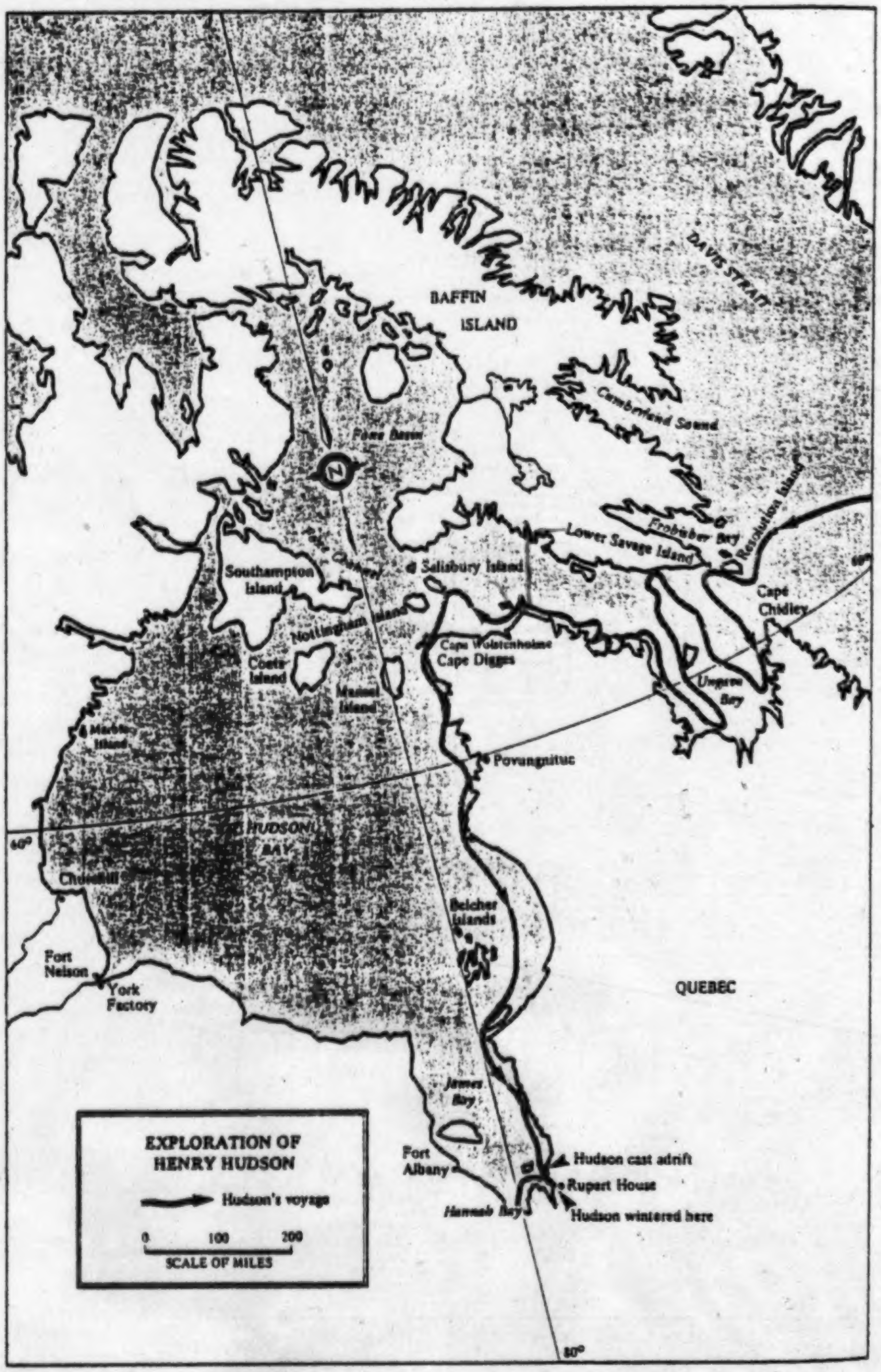
[38] Isaac de la Peyrère, Bericht von Gronland (Hamburg, 1674), II, Chpt. 5, p. 42; or Oleson, op. cit., p. 78.

[39] G. M. Asher, Henry Hudson the Navigator. The Original Documents in Which His Career is Recorded, Collected, Partly Translated and Annotated, with an Introduction (London: Hakluyt Society, 1860), pp. 93-97.

[40] Ibid., p. 107.


DAVIS STRAIT
BAFFIN ISLAND
Cumberland Sound
Foxe Basin
Frobisher Bay
Resolution Island
Lower Savage Island
Salisbury Island
Fox Channel
Southampton Island
Nottingham Island
Coats Island
Mansel Island
Cape Wolstenholme
Cape Digges
Cape Chidley
Ungava Bay
Marble Island
Povungnituc
HUDSON BAY
60°
Churchill
Belcher Islands
Fort Nelson
York Factory
QUEBEC
James Bay
Fort Albany
Hannah Bay
Hudson cast adrift
Rupert House
Hudson wintered here
EXPLORATION OF HENRY HUDSON
Hudson's voyage
0
100
200
SCALE OF MILES
80°

Map 10. Voyage of Henry Hudson

From: Farley Mowat, Ordeal by Ice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 66.

reported an encounter with what must have been an Indian. This is the first recorded encounter between Indians and expedition organizers.

> . . . there came a savage to our ship . . . being the first that we had seene in all this time: whom our master intreated well, and made much of him, promising unto himselfe great matters by his meanes, and therefore would have all the knives and hatchets (which any man had) to his private use, but received none but from John King the carpenter, and my selfe. To this savage our master gave a knife, a looking-glasse, and buttons, who received them thankfully, and made signs that after hee had slept hee would come againe, which hee did. When hee came hee brought with him a sled, which hee drew after him, and upon it two deeres skinnes and two beaver skinnes. Hee had a scrip under his arme, out of which hee drew those things which the master had given him. Hee tooke the knife and laid it upon one of the beaver skinnes, and his glasses and buttons upon the other, and so gave them to the master, who received them, and the savage tooke those things which the master had given him, and put them up into his scrip againe. Then the master shewed him a hatchet, for which hee would have given the master one of his deere skinnes, but our master would have them both, and so hee had, although not willingly. After many signes of people to the north and to the south, and that after so many sleepes he would come again, he went his way, but never came more.[41]

The passage illustrates the dissention which illustrates Hudson's relations with his crew. Prickett delights in portraying Hudson's avarice both with the crew and with the "savage." In all probability the native realized he could not profitably trade with Hudson so thus his not coming again.

Finally, by 28 July, 1611, the conspirators in the crew set Hudson and his eight companions into a row boat and sailed off without them.

Off sailed the mutineers sans Hudson. Since they were terribly short of supplies they came back to Digges Island. Here the mutineers bargained with the natives. Courtesies were exchanged but the natives would not supply the venison that the Englishmen wanted. A fight broke out and four of the mutineers were killed. After this engagement the captainless expedition limped home to England.

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[41] Ibid., pp. 114-15.

This voyage serves to reveal the state of mind of the visitors. Hudson seems driven by the hope of reward; so driven that dissatisfaction becomes the rallying point for the crew who argued that Hudson had risked their safety by remaining in the Bay for a winter. Hudson even alienated the native with whom he drove a hard bargain. The native recognized the hard bargain for neither did he come again nor did he bring his companions, according to Prickett. Neither would the natives of Digges Island supply the venison that the mutineers demanded. Such imperious demands did not sit well with the independent nature of the natives.

(13) Trouble at Digges Island: British North-west Passage Expedition, Thomas Button, 1612-13

Thomas Button carried a Letter of Credence from King James I to the Emperor of Japan or other Oriental Potentate. The Company of Merchants of London Discoverers of the North America instructed Button to choose a part "on the back of America, or some island in the South Sea, for a haven or a stacion for our Shippes and Marchaundizes."[42] Button sailed through the Straits of Hudson until he met the west shore of Hudson Bay. He sailed south and wintered at Port Nelson, named after his sailing master. After the wintering, he sailed north to the channel that separates the west coast of Hudson Bay and Southampton which is called Roe's Welcome Sound. Finding the passage was blocked with ice, he called it Ne Ultra or "Go no farther." On his return home in 1613, his men engaged in another struggle with the kayakers at Digges Island.

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[42] J. B. Brebner, The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806 (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1964), p. 177.

Again, the voyage serves to suggest the frame of reference of the visitors. The expedition sought a base on the way to Cathay and the famed Straits of Anian which supposedly led to China. Each of the expeditions searched each possibility for a channel and the searchers had the ice doom each of the possibilities. The natives, as those of Digges, refused the cooperation that the crews demanded and the situation naturally ended in conflict.

(14) "Little Images of Men:" The British North-west Passage Expedition, Robert Bylot and William Baffin, 1615

Again the Discovery sailed into Hudson Strait under command of Bylot and Baffin in 1615. The ship stopped and visited Inuit on the north coast of the Strait or Baffin Island. The Inuit fled and Baffin searched their tents. Said he, "We found in a smale leather bagg a company of little images of men; and one the image of a woman with child at her backe: all of which I brought away."[43] That this constituted theft never dawned on Baffin; the 'images' of the Inuit only symbolized the pagan nature of the natives and their abhorrent mode of life. When Digges Island came in sight, the natives did not show themselves and the vessel returned to England.

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[43] Robert Markham, ed., The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612-22 (London: Hayluyt Society, 1881), p. 118.

(15) "Passageways Delineated:" British North-west Passage Expedition, Bylot and Baffin, 1616

Again, Baffin and Bylot came to Greenlandic waters in 1616. This time they proceeded to Sukkertoppen on the Greenland side of Davis Strait. Here the crew bartered with six Inuit, but farther north, Baffin noted that the Inuit stood aloof, possibly because the reputation of the white strangers had become known.[44] At Hope Sanderson, still farther north, however, they agreeably transported a number of Inuit women and did a little trading. Baffin and Bylot did go farther north and designated three channels which would see much action in the next two hundred years: Lancaster, Jones and Smith Sounds.

The Images of the Inuit as Portrayed by the Journals

Frobisher assessed the Inuit as being fierce, rapacious, despised, brutish, wandering, courageous, brave, savage, greedy, thievish, cannibalistic and treacherous. All this he could determine in seventy-five days. Davis, on the other hand, found the Inuit tractable, void of craftiness, easy to be brought to "civility" with a love of music, social intercourse and barter. He later qualified some of these characteristics. Others labelled the Inuit as remembering, vengeful, childish and idolatrous. Few of the journal writers of this period would quarrel with the descriptive list.

The English had great curiosity as to the nature of the beings found in these lands. The first Inuit taken home to England had created a sensation there. So did Calichoghe, Ignorth and Natioc. Succeeding expeditions took many more captives home to England. But the Inuit relatives and friends remembered the wrongs and began to strike back at the offenders. The captives were carefully watched, as were Calichoghe and Natioc by Frobisher's crew and Lindenov's report of the Inuit brought back to Copenhagen. Because no European knew Inuktitut , there could be little communication but the English used the criteria 'they are different than us' and the degree of difference determined the degree of humanity assigned to the Inuit.

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[44] Ibid., p. 139.

Frame of Reference of the Portrayers

Like the Norse, the English of 1576-1615 possessed the aggressive, acquisitive, buccaneering spirit of the age. Fame, discovery and wealth guided their actions. Like other Europeans, the English held the tenet that the Straits of Anian did exist. This land that they encountered was but an instrument whereby they would get to Cathay: this people were but curios that one met on the way.

English and Latin, God spoke; other languages existed as gibberish or lesser tongues. Made in the image of God, any physical differences marked non-humaness and so could be judged. To get to Cathay remained their highest motivation and these English visitors could not understand why the "uncivil" natives did not drop everything to give them aid in the English mission. The difficulty of their mission became more apparent to them as people such as Hudson and Button wintered in northern areas but the difficulties were worth the suffering if it brought them closer to the Holy Grail of the Staits of Anian. So thought the writers of the journals who came in the years 1576-1615.

Fresh from the religious struggles in Europe, the English considered these natives as lower than the pagan Turks, as idolatrous as the followers of the Church of Rome, and practitioners of witchcraft and sorcery. As such, these natives were beasts, servants to the agents of Her most Christian Majesty. Since those who reported the journeys were of the educated class, they knew of the Aristotelian doctrine as argued at Vallatoid in 1555 by Sepulvida. No blame could be attached to those who carried out the mission of the Queen and the true God even if in the discharge of that mission it meant that natives had to be cheated, deceived, kidnapped or killed.

Relationships Between Peoples or Who Influenced Whom and Why

First encounters between Inuit and English demonstrated the friendliness of the Inuit despite the suspicion of the English. The Inuit showed their desire to barter and with greater acquaintance that desire magnified. The wood and iron of the English greatly impressed the Inuit but Frobisher found the ore deposits attractive. Generally the English found the natives to have nothing that the English desired. Because the natives had desires for English material things, but the English did not desire as yet those things possessed by natives (except in the isolated case of Hudson), this put the native in a somewhat disadvantaged position. There was not a good atmosphere for barter. The Inuit had discovered what they wanted from the English but the English did not realize that the Inuit had something that they in time would need -- geographic knowledge and northern survival techniques.

Both sides could remain proudly independent. The Inuit were secure in their own time tested life style whereas the English as yet need not be dependent on the Inuit.

Since the English had material things that the Inuit wanted, the natives had either to beg or to take. The latter course the English described as thievery. The English knew not what to ask of the Inuit nor had the English the language by which to communicate nor did they realize the value of such a vehicle for procuring information.

Shakespeare gave Caliban in The Tempest the words that represented what some natives may have felt:

> When thou camest first
> Thou strok'st me, and made much of me;
> wouldst give me
> Water with berries in 't, and teach me how
> To name the bigger light and how the less,
> That burn by day and night; and then I lov'd thee
> And show'd thee all the qualities o' the isle;
> The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place and fertile.
> Curs'd be I that did so.

This Caliban formula occurred in the case of Frobisher, Davis, Hall, Cunningham, Lindenov and Hudson and would recur later as well.

CHAPTER 5

FROM VESTIGE TO PRESENCE (1619-1742)

This chapter contains descriptions of the accounts of expeditions which visited the peoples adjacent to Hudson Bay from 1619 to 1742. It includes the French-English struggle for Hudson Bay and the establishment of permanent posts. The first contacts with Dene and Inuit *dramatis personae* were described and the first inklings of the people beyond the margin of the Bay were conceived by Pierre Radisson, Chouart Groseilliers, Nicholas Jérémie, William Stuart and James Knight.

By the early 1600's, Spain and Portugal had established spheres of influence in South and Central America. England would plant colonies along the seaboard south of Port Royal and Acadia, and France would endeavour to settle a colony on the St. Lawrence. The English, Dutch and Danes knew the value of the fisheries and there was a myth that the Straits of Anian would lead somewhere across northern North America. Christian IV of Denmark was intent on one more attempt to find the passage. Once the Straits of Hudson had been clearly delineated and the western sea, as Hudson Bay, indicated, it was natural that this area be thoroughly investigated. The next hundred and thirty years saw the Europeans either charting the coasts or attempting to establish bases for further mapping and for trade. Logically, the Europeans came into contact with the peoples who lived south of the Arctic circle. While the journals of expeditions report the European reaction and thinking, later

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Facing - Map 11. Visits of 1619-1792.

journals also reveal the Inuit and Dene reaction and response. Hudson, Baffin and Button had clearly established the presence of the Hudson Bay. It would take the efforts of Jens Munk, Luke Foxe, Thomas James, Pierre Esprit de Radisson, Sieur des Groseilliers, James Knight, Richard Norton, John Scroggs and Christopher Middleton to flesh in the details and to establish forts for the sustenance of the Europeans. On these leaders, and their expeditions, historians have dwelt in detail but the role of Inuit and Dene *dramatis personae* tend to be in the background. A case in point might be the expedition of Jens Munk in 1619.

(16) The Morgue at Nova Dania: Danish North-west Passage Expedition, 1619-20

Christian IV sent Jens Munk out with sixty-five men to search for the Straits of Anian. The expedition arrived at the west coast of Hudson Bay in September and Munk had little choice but to search for a harbour on a coast not noted for the number of fine berths. Munk had blundered into Frobisher Bay, retraced his steps to Hudson Strait, and visited Digges Island and this had caused the delay. Munk found a haven at the mouth of what came to be known as the Churchill River and named the place Munk's Winter Haven and the land about it Nova Dania.[1]

After protecting his ships as best he might for the winter, Munk searched for the natives. He found their summer encampments but the Indians had moved off the Barrens to the tree line and the Inuit had moved to where the game was easier to hunt. By December, scurvy began to take its toll and the toll increased as the winter wore on. By June 18, 1620, only three of the sixty-five men were alive. The Lamprey freed itself and stores from the other ship, the Unicorn, were brought back to the Lamprey. Amazingly, three men sailed the Lamprey back to Sundfiord in 1620.[2]

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[1] C. C. A. Gosch, ed., *Danish Arctic Expeditions 1605 to 1620 in Two Books* . . . *Book II. The Expedition of Captain Jens Munk to Hudson Bay in Search of a North-west Passage in 1618-20* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1897), p. 23.

It took a hundred years for the native version of the expedition to surface. Since the report comes from M. Jérémie at York Fort in 1720, Jérémie probably got his information from Indians that travelled about York Fort. In their preface to the translation of Jérémie, R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace chide Jérémie for some of his 'confused history.' The translators also say that,

> His geographical notes are surprisingly accurate, and show painstaking enquiry of the Indians who came from distant points to trade. He states that he even did all in his power to persuade the Indians to explore towards the unknown western sea.[3]

The Indians told Jérémie how the Danes came to the Danish River or, as the Indians called it, the Manoteou-sibi or Strangers' River. There, the ships wintered and the Danes "housed themselves as best they could, much as would be done by people who know nothing about that country, and who have no forethought in providing against the intense cold which must come upon them."[4]

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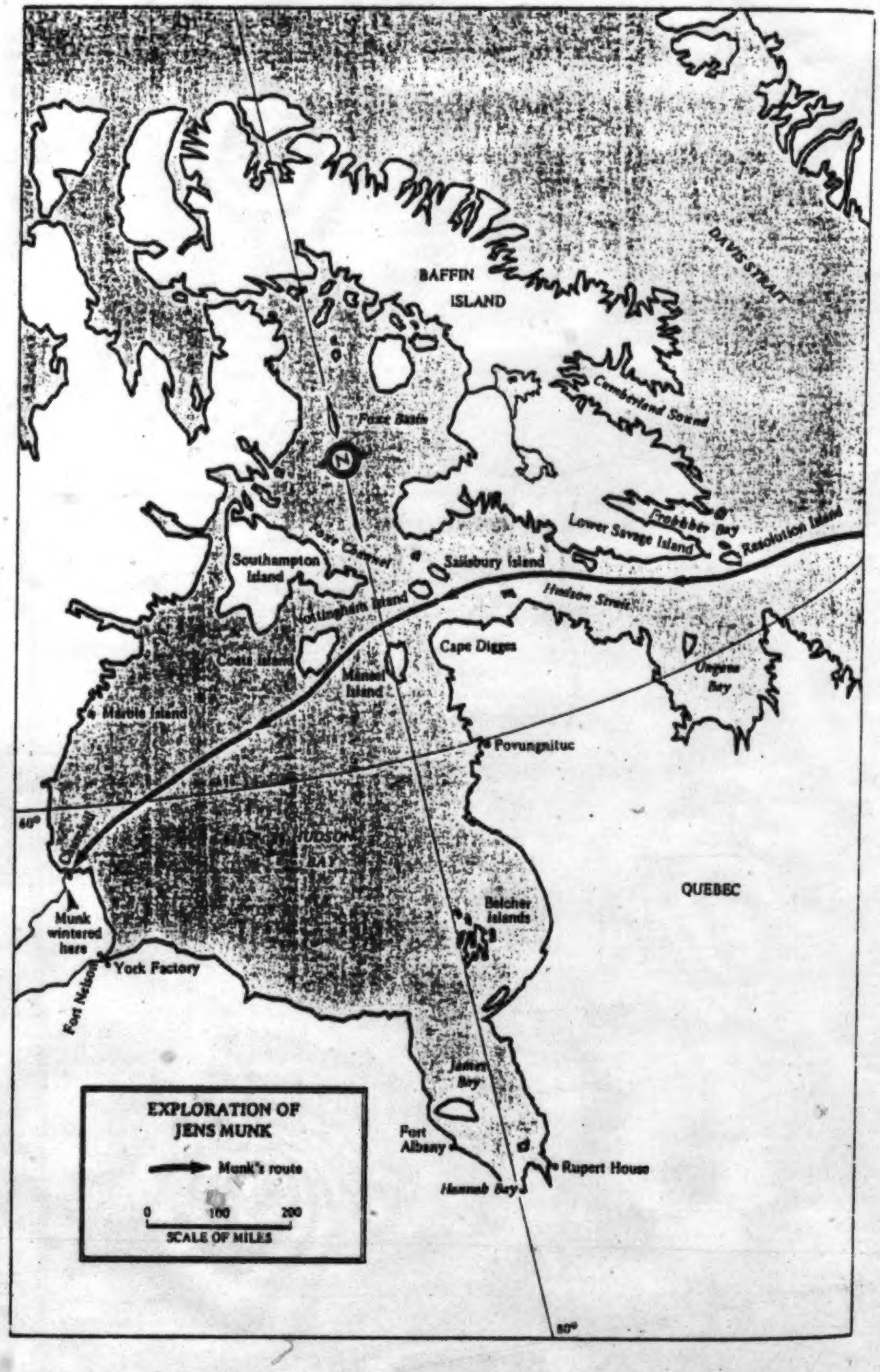
[2] Ibid., p. 58.

[3] Nicholas Jérémie, Twenty Years at York Factory, translated from the French Edition of 1720 with notes and introduction by R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace (Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott, 1926), p. 188.

[4] Ibid., p. 18.


BAFFIN ISLAND
DAVIS STRAIT
Cumberland Sound
Foxe Basin
Frobisher Bay
Lower Savage Island
Resolution Island
Foxe Channel
Southampton Island
Salisbury Island
Hudson Strait
Nottingham Island
Coats Island
Cape Digges
Mansel Island
Ungava Bay
Marble Island
Povungnituc
60°
HUDSON BAY
Munk wintered here
York Factory
Fort Nelson
Belcher Islands
QUEBEC
James Bay
Fort Albany
Rupert House
Hannah Bay
EXPLORATION OF JENS MUNK
Munk's route
0
100
200
SCALE OF MILES
80°

Map 12. The Expedition of Jens Munk

From: Farley Mowat, Ordeal by Ice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 90.

Jérémie tells of the sickness and death that came upon the Danes and how the river flushed both ships out into the bay so that only a brass cannon was left behind.

But the Munk men had kept a cabin on land and Jéréme continues,

> Next summer, when the natives reached the place, they were much astonished to see so many dead bodies, the more so as they had never seen men of that kind before. Terror stricken, at first, they ran away, not knowing what to make of such a sight. Then, when fear had given way to curiosity, they went back thinking they would secure the richest spoils that had ever been obtained. Unfortunately there was powder, and knowing nothing of its properties or its powers, they foolishly set fire to it, with the result that they were all killed, and the house and everything in it were burnt up. So the others who came later got nothing except the nails and pieces of iron, which they gathered up from the ashes of the conflagration.[5]

Despite Jérémie's statement that the natives did not know of the existence of the Danes in 1619-20, it seems obvious that in order to name a river the Indians must have observed the arrival of ships, or at least seen the Unicorn before its destruction. Munk states that he left the ship intact on July 16, 1620, so it must have been in the spring and summer of 1621 that the explosion occurred.[6] Further, J. Robson reports another native version saying that the Indians obtained metal from the brass guns of a Danish wreck.[7]

While the events of Munk's stay in Churchill Harbour seem trivial in the scheme of history, they were considered worthy of memory by the natives for over one hundred years. The oral tradition was at work among the Indians just as the Inuit kept the record of Frobisher's five 'lost' men.

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[5] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[6] Gosch, op. cit., p. 134.

[7] Joseph Robson, An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay: From 1733 to 1736 and 1744 to 1747 (London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965), p. 69.

Of the natives, Munk had little evidence except indications that they had been at Churchill in the previous summer. The Indian story as reported by Jérémie comes before 1713, almost ninety-four years after Munk's visit. Jérémie records the inference that the Indians watched while Munk was in residence and later visited the scene of action when the explosion occurred. The Jérémie version indicates that the Indians made no contact but merely watched.

Jérémie does demonstrate a French tendency to interrogate the Indians and to place reliance on the Indian information.

(17) Another Meeting With the Dead: British North-west Expedition: Luke Foxe, 1631

Luke Foxe, sponsored by London merchants, sailed into Hudson Bay in May of 1631. He followed the north coast of Coates Island and the south shore of Southampton Island until he came to an island near Cape Fullerton. Here, Foxe landed and found a cemetery obviously of ancient vintage. Says Foxe,

> The news from land was that this Iland was a Sepulchre for that the Salvages had laid their dead (I cannot say interred), for it is all stone, and wall them about with the same, coffining them also by laying the sides of old sleddes above, which have been artifically made. The boards are some 9 or 10 foot long, 4 inches thicke. In what manner the three they have bin made out of was cloven or sawen, it was so smooth as we could not discerne, the burials had been so old. And, as in other places of those countries, they bury all their utensils, as bowes, arrowes, strings, darts, lances, and other implements carved in bone. The longest corpses was not above 4 foot long, with their heads laid to the West. It may be that they travell, as the Tartars and the

> Samoides; for, if they had remained here, there would have been some newer burials.[8]

Foxe also speaks of a place which was a square with four walls where he considered the natives to celebrate their religious rites. The crew raided the graves for firewood and Foxe noted that one of the "dartes" seemed to him to have been made by a Christian and that the natives had come by the metal by way of Canada.

The editor of Foxe's journal, Miller Christy, notes that the following excerpt is in a Foxe manuscript:

> There had been buried some 500 savages. Our men opened their tombes where they found them to lie with their deerskins, as they used to wear about them when they were living, and by them their darts, with arrow-heads - some of bone, some of stone, some of iron, some of copper.[9]

As in the case of the Norse, Foxe conjectured about the natives who visited these parts periodically. He could only judge them on circumstantial evidence -- their graves. The incidents reported here demonstrate the ghoulish curiosity of and lack of respect for the graves of the former inhabitants by the English. The first set of graves lay in country that had been traditionally Inuit. The graves, Foxe ascertained, were old. There had been no recent burials so the present descendants of these people had obviously moved to other places, no doubt seeking more favourable living places. There is evidence as well, Foxe notes, that the former inhabitants had lived in this place for some time because of the nature and number of burials. The graves provided evidence as well of a people who believed in an afterlife and thus had some form of religion in that they had deposited materials in the graves either for the use of the dead in the afterlife or for the propitiation of spirits. Foxe also noted the presence of iron which most likely came from the Munk site which was located much farther south.

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[8] Miller Christie, The Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull, and Captain Thomas James of Bristol, in Search of a North West Passage in 1631-32, 2 vols, First Series, Nos. 88-89 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1894), p. 319.

[9] Ibid., p. 359.

Foxe's journal is also important in that it gives some clues as to the frame of reference of the English. On July 30, Foxe came upon Captain Thomas James and had dinner aboard the Henrietta Maria, James' ship. James told Foxe, ". . . that hee was going to the Emperour of Japan, with letters from his Majestie."[10] Foxe tartly replied, "Keepe it up then . . . but you are out of your way to Japon, for this is not it."[11] This indicates that some of the English had come to the conclusion that the Straits of Anian did not lay in the immediate vicinity of Hudson Bay.

(18) A Tourist Sets Off a Forest Fire: British North-west Passage Expedition, Thomas James, 1631-32

The merchants of Bristol sponsored a Welshman, Thomas James, to enter Hudson Bay in the Henrietta Maria. What Jens Munk had christened as Nova Dania, James now proceeded to name the New Principality of South Wales. Button had called this same port Hubbert's Hope.[12]

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[10] Ibid., p. 359.

[11] Ibid., p. 359.

[12] Ibid., p. 335.

James continued to the south hoping to find a passage way to the River of Canada, indicating that he knew of the exploits of the French further to the south. This led James to Charlton Island at the base of James Bay, at which he wintered. By spring, the crew were desperately weakened by scurvy and by June of 1632 the ship was free of encumbering ice. James made a fire on a foreland hoping to attract the attention of the natives. The fire raced out of control. James and his crew had recognized that the natives could be of help to them thus the attempt to attract the natives' attention. The great majority of previous expeditions had been summer visitors. As more expeditions tended to winter, the Europeans would become more dependent on native people.

Jérémie reports that the Indians have the name of Akimiski for the island on which this fire raged. The translation of Akimiski is "it looks like a long, black smoke." Even if James failed to make contact with the natives, his deed was remembered by the Indians and the name Akimiski applied to the island where the deed took place. Rasky calls James "Canada's first white camper to recklessly touch off a forest fire."[13]

(19) "How To Be a Caesar of the Wilderness:" The First Expedition After the Issuance of the Hudson's Bay Charter: Zachariah Gillam, Medard Chouart des Groseilliers and Pierre Radisson, 1670-71

For thirty-six years no known European craft sailed the waters of Hudson Strait and Bay. In August, 1668, the Nonsuch with Medard Chouart des Groseilliers on board came. Because of the rich bartering session which ensued, the expedition proved financially profitable and a charter was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. This was no happy accident. It had been prepared and planned by Groseilliers and Radisson and an able set of financial backers in London. It is instructive to look at the period wherein Radisson and Groseilliers received their knowledge and experience.

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[13] Rasky, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 258.

Radisson's journal is very confusing and requires correction and substantiation from other sources.[14] This is probably due to the fact that he wrote it long after the deeds had been accomplished. Groseilliers left no personal journal but it is possible to reconstruct the events leading up to the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Seventeenth Century colonial powers in America had the problem of getting staples from the New World which would finance their efforts there. The Spanish and the Portuguese had the gold and silver from their Central and South American empires. England had the fisheries and grain products of Newfoundland and New England. New France had timber and furs. Northern Canada was a problem because no profitable, marketable staples could be obtained. Radisson and Groseilliers provided the answer for,

> "the strange pair . . . brought both the knowledge and the enthusiasm of the Canadian *coureur de bois*, the wood-runner at home with the Indian and content to winter in the woods, and some fixed pertinent geographical notions of their own to London.[15]

Radisson and Groseilliers came to London with the idea that the best way to prosecute the fur trade was through Hudson Bay. They suggested a northern approach. Their advice was taken and so the accent shifts. Previous expeditions had been organized to find a passageway through North America. Now the motive is to make a profit from staples that could be acquired in northern North America.

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[14] Gideon D. Scull, ed., *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson Being an Account of His Travels and Experiences Among the North American Indians from 1652-1684* (New York: Peter Smith, 1943).

[15] Edwin Ernest Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870*, Vol. I: 1670-1763 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958), p. 23.

The French had expanded their Acadian and St. Lawrence colonies and the growth of these colonies was largely due to the fur trade and the sale of primary products in Europe. The French had made enemies of the Iroquois and by 1652-53 the Iroquois had stretched a cordon of non-trade about the neck of New France. In 1652-53, not a beaver skin had been brought to Montreal for the powerful Iroquois had frightened the tribes which ordinarily brought furs to New France.

Groseilliers was first a _habitant_ but the woods attracted him. From 1654 to 1656 Groseilliers was western emissary to the tribes for the Governor of New France. His aim was to encourage the Sioux and the Ojibway to dare to bring furs and thus break through the Iroquois cordon. Groseilliers and a companion travelled deep into the interior and in 1656 brought back a flotilla of thirty Indian canoes from the west.

E. E. Rich says,

> Perhaps even more important, they met the Illinois, the Sioux and above all the Christinos or Crees. The Cree lands reached "as far as the North Sea" and the Crees gave Groseilliers accounts of the "Bay of the North" and of the possibility of access to that bay by sea going ships.[16]

The Crees said they had seen the memorable ships upon that Bay and knew stories of whitemen who had been there.

Radisson, on the other hand, had been captured at Trois Rivieres by the Mohawks in 1651. He had returned with the Mohawk raiding party and lived with them until his escape in 1654. Radisson had the added experience of journeying with a Jesuit to the Onondagas during 1657 and 1658. Happily for English purposes, these two experienced travellers became available to the English and it is to them that must be given the credit of convincing the English that not only was this northern territory a vast source of wealth but the key to getting that wealth was language which would unlock the store of knowledge which the Indian possessed of how to get to the wealth. Radisson and Groseilliers' experience was such that they had learned the rudiments of Indian languages and they realized the value of being able to converse. They came at a crucial time and a fortuitous set of circumstances sent them to the English -- fortuitous for the English.

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[16] Ibid., Vol I, p. 27.

Radisson and Groseilliers were related through marriage. The two planned a northern expedition in 1659. Their purpose lay in contacting the Crees and investigating the possibilities of trade through the great Bay of the North. That they did reach the Bay seems impossible but they knew of an Indian who had made a trip to the Bay in 1658-60.[17] When they did return with rich cargoes of furs in sixty Indian canoes, the Governor of Quebec fined them. Severely disenchanted, Radisson and Groseilliers went first to New England (1663) and then to England (1665). After three frustrating years in England, the Nonsuch and Eaglet were dispatched but the Eaglet, with Radisson aboard, was forced to turn back.

With Groseilliers and Gillam, however, the gist of happenings is that Gillam wintered at Charles Fort of Charleston Island. Groseilliers was "conducted by them [the Indians] into the mouth of the Rupert River."[18] When spring arrived three hundred Indians came to trade.[19] Groseillier had gone to the Indians and they had responded. Gillam concluded a treaty with the Indians in which he claimed to purchase their land.[20]

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[17] Ibid., p. 28.

Radisson, writing in 1699, said,

> For the presents they have need of they would give themselves up this Day to God if they have knowledge of him and tomorrow they would give themselves to the Devil for a pipe of tobacco and they would even deliver up their Inheritance for the like things. And they received at each place where the English have been settled their presents for taking Possession whosoever hath known those Savage Nations doth understand the Same things.[21]

Radisson and Groseilliers had been known to change their allegiance, not once but many times, and they recognized this same quality in the Indian. If the Indian did have a tendency to sell soul or inheritance, the two Frenchmen and English companions certainly played on that culpability. The fact that Gillam did seek agreement with the Indians reveals a certain basic insecurity in the Englishmen. They, like the Norse, had to possess the land. Since Radisson had set little score on Indian motivation for ownership, the effort to achieve a treaty seems to be a grandstand performance to satisfy contemporary critics of any charter or to safeguard the Company in years to come. As a result of the 1669 trip, the Hudson's Bay Charter was granted by King Charles II.[22]

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[18] Rich, op. cit., Vol I, p. 62.

[19] Ibid., p. 62.

[20] Ibid., p. 62.

[21] Ibid., p. 63.

The Dene and Inuit of these territories had unbeknowingly acquired an absentee landlord. That landlord would hold the legal reigns of power until 1870 and have effective economic and political clout thereafter in the areas included in this study. The expedition of 1670-71 under Zachariah Gillam, with Radisson and Groseilliers on the ship's roster, was simply the first move of the new proprietors to take symbolic control and to set up a trading base at Prince Rupert.

The Cree who visited Rupert House were termed by the English as the "Home Indians." Both Radisson and Groseilliers had worked with them for a quarter of a century. Both men knew the mechanics of trade, Indian psychology, and had more than a smattering of Cree language. Thus, on the expedition of 1670, Groseilliers accompanied Gillam and Radisson sailed with Governor Bayly so that each ship would have an experienced advisor or perhaps even to keep watch on the two Frenchmen.[23] Bayly was to establish a post on the Nelson River and Gillam one on the Rupert River. A permanent settlement at both was the objective of the Company but no one would volunteer to remain another winter so all returned to England.

By the 1680's, English forts had been established at Rupert House (1670)[24], Moose River (1673)[25], and Fort Albany (1679).[26] York Factory

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[22] Ibid., p. 63.

[23] Ibid., p. 66.

[24] Ibid., p. 55.

[25] Ibid., p. 34.

[26] Ibid., p. 37.

(1684) and Fort Severne (1685)[27] were established in the next decade. The French made concerted efforts to either establish forts or to destroy or capture those of the Hudson's Bay Company. By the 1690's only York Factory remained in British hands. Finally, James Knight reoccupied Albany in 1692-93.[28]

The Hudson's Bay Company efforts during these years were clearly concerned with the establishment of posts and the survival of those posts. It was a war to fend off the challenge of France and its colony, New France. It was a battle for the allegiance of the Cree or at least to establish credibility with the Cree who seemed to hold the key to the vast interior. It was a struggle of the St. Lawrence introit versus that from the Bay.

Several events, though, had significance for the northern story. In 1686, John Abraham and Michael Grimington visited the outlet of the Churchill River.[29] Their description led the Hudson's Bay Company to order the establishment of a post on the Churchill. In 1689, one arm of an expedition from York Factory proceeded to Churchill and began building of a house, but during the building fire broke out and the attempt at establishing a factory was abandoned.[30] The second arm of the expedition, which consisted of an Indian boy and Henry Kelsey, proceeded 100 kilometers north of Churchill as far as the Seal River. The Indian boy, so says Kelsey, was frightened of the Inuit, and so Kelsey decided to turn back to York Factory.[31] What this does indicate is that the Bay authorities cast an eye on the more northern tribes who were not so open to competition. Further, in 1690, Kelsey was dispatched to accompany the Assiniboine who had come down to York Fort, on their return journey.[32] Kelsey proceeded to Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan River and onto the prairies. Kelsey's expedition had a threefold effect on the northern trade. First, he could map the beginnings of a system of waterways that would lead the fur traders to the westermost parts of what is now known as the Northwest Territories. These discoveries plus those of the Sieur La Verendrye would lead French and English fur traders to the Athabasca and Mackenzie waterways in the next hundred years. Secondly, Kelsey decided to go alone with the Indians. This strategy was to be copied by William Stuart (1715) and Samuel Hearne (1767). Thirdly, the Bay authorities were beginning to think in terms of finding out from whence came the Indians of rich fur country further north.

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[27] Ibid., p. 40.

[28] Ibid., p. 44.

[29] Cooke, op. cit., p. 41.

[30] Ibid., p. 43.

James Knight, the Hudson's Bay Company governor, in 1714, received the surrender of York Factory from Nicholas Jérémie, the French governor. Both wrote journals that deal with the history and contemporary scene of the area. R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace say of the Jérémie Journal, "Jérémie's narrative in many respects stands almost alone, and is the best record we have, made by a resident, of what was known about that country more than 200 years ago."[33]

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[31] Ibid., p. 43.

[32] Ibid., p. 44.

[33] Jérémie, op. cit., p. 5.

James Knight gives a tart tongued account of the "founding" at Churchill of what was to become "Fort Prince of Wales." Both authors were on-the-spot. Jérémie had spent twenty years at York Factory.[34] Knight had first come to the area in 1676 whereas Jérémie had arrived in 1694. Jérémie bids his adieu in 1714 whereas Knight bows out in 1719 although his invisible presence remains long after.

Jérémie depicts the Inuit of Hudson Strait as follows:

> Although this Strait is quite uncultivated, and the most sterile of all countries in the world, there are yet natives called Eskimos who inhabit these forry wastes. They have this in common with the country they occupy, that they are so wild and intractable that it has not yet been possible to get them interested in trade. They made war on all their neighbours, and when they kill or capture any of their enemies, they eat them raw and drink their blood. They even make infants at the breast drink it, so as to instil in them the barbarism and ardour of war from their tenderest years.[35]

Just how Jérémie would have received this information is not known, for he spent his twenty years at York Factory but he continues to project the image of the Inuit as warlike, savage and cannibalistic.

Jérémie had the appearance of having accepted the Indian version of the Inuit. Each group of native people tended to warn their visitors of the bad qualities of their neighbours. Both Indians and Inuit drank warm blood of the caribou or other animals -- it had health saving properties that kept scurvy away. They used the blood as food rather than as a strategy to instil "barbarism or ardour of war."

Jérémie tells that Indian oral tradition of the Jens Munk stay at

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[34] K. G. Davies, ed., Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703-40, edited by K. G. Davies, assisted by A. M. Johnson with an introduction by Glyndwr Williams (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), p. 394.

[35] Jérémie, op. cit., p. 16.

Manoteou-sibi or Churchill and he is the first European to describe the musk-ox.

Further, Jérémie says that north of the Seal River, which according to him was fifteen leagues from the Danish River or Churchill, lived a nation called the Dogribs.

> . . . who make war on our Maskegons [swampy Cree], that is, the people with whom we trade. As they have no experience with fire arms, no more than the Eskimos, as soon as they hear a few shots fired they all run away, leaving their women and children, and these our natives carry away as prisoners and made them slaves. They capture very few of the men because they run faster than our men. They have a mine of native copper in their country where this metal is so abundant and so pure that, without any smelting but just as they pick it up at the mine, it is hammered between two stones and they make whatever they want of it. I have seen this copper very often, as our natives always bring some back when they go to war in those parts. The Dogribs have pleasant and kindly faces, and . . . if we could persuade them to trade, we would get along well with them. Their country is very barren, without beaver or other fur, and all they have to live on is fish and a kind of deer which we call caribou. The caribou they kill with arrows, and also take them with snares.[36]

Jérémie, in referring to the Dogrib, probably is talking of the Yellowknives rather than the people who bear the Dogrib name today. His reference to the copper mine is the first one printed.[37]

Jérémie gives the first introduction to the Athapaskans. According to him, these Athapaskans are timorous in comparison with the Cree, cowardly in that they desert their women and children when danger appears. Then there is the first mention of copper and its source and the suggestion that these Athapaskans would make good trading partners.

Jérémie says further:

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[36] Ibid., p. 20.

[37] Ibid., p. 22.

> The English returned . . . and they saw the natives who received them in a friendly way, and guided them, with their ship, to the islands which are seven leagues up the river, and there the English made their first establishments.[38]

Jérémie spoke of York Factory and how the Indians showed them the best site for this establishment.[39] Thus, while Europeans tended to choose the regions in which they desired a fort or factory, in each of the cases of Rupert House, Moose Fort and York Factory, the Indians guided the English to the most desirable spot. The English are beginning to take Indian advice. Groseilliers and Radisson are the advocates of this advice. Jérémie, on the other hand, illustrates how the French take Indian supplied information.

Jérémie makes the following comment on how Indians compare the French and English:

> Indeed all the people with whom we trade in the whole bay always treat the French as their fathers and protectors. The same attachment is not shown towards the English. They say they are too deceitful and that they never tell the truth, and this they do not take. Although uncivilized, they detest lying - a remarkable characteristic when we remember that they have no authority or discipline controlling their way of living. The only vice which can be charged against them is that they are somewhat slanderous. They never swear, and have not even any expression in their language which resembles an oath.[40]

Jérémie was the spokesman of the French point of view on the Bay. He, as do many of his countrymen, saw French civilization as the pinnacle of world cultures and so he labelled the Indians of the Bay as uncivilized but he assigned certain good qualities to them -- they detested lying, and they lacked or never used swear words. Jérémie alluded to the good feelings that existed between Indian and French; some of it is nationalistic bias but borne out in other areas of North America. The French showed a proclivity to learn Indian languages which the English were slow to attempt. Learning the language is the open sesame to knowledge about northern Canada and the French grasped it more quickly than the English. Jérémie did listen to the Indian even to the point of picking up Indian bias against Inuit. But James Knight relieved Jérémie at Albany and must have discussed "Indian report" with Jérémie, at least Knight attempted to emulate Jérémie's methods.

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[38] Ibid., p. 23.

[39] Jérémie, op. cit., p. 24.

[40] Ibid., p. 32.

(20) "Thanadelthur - Ambassadress of Peace:" Hudson's Bay Company Overland Expedition: William Stuart, 1715-16

If Jérémie saw the last hope for French sovereignty flicker on Hudson Bay in 1713, James Knight was to see the beginning of a firm establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company's grasp on northern Canada. The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, definitely established the Hudson's Bay Company as the ruling power in the Hudson Bay area. The Company could now afford to concentrate on its northern trade. Knight, in his own words, says:

> . . . for when I first came [to Rupert River] . . . we had nothing but a Little place not fitt to keep Hoggs in . . . And when I went to Moose River their I built a good House and after that I went to Albaney River and did the Like again.[41]

Knight had been appointed Governor of Albany in 1698. His expedition attacked Albany, which had been held by the French, and captured it. Shortly afterwards the French captured York Fort, thus leaving Fort Albany the only fort in English hands.

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[41] Davies, op. cit., p. 395 or (B 239/a/3, 5 March, 1717).

So Knight came with a good reputation to take over all the English forts after the Treaty of Utrecht. At York Fort, he came in contact with the first of three slave women who were to give Knight valuable information and service.

In the spring of 1713, a party of Cree had raided a "Northern" or Chipewyan camp. Slave woman had escaped her Cree captors and sought refuge in York Fort.[42] Knight remarks, "Discoursed her abt. her Country and people." She gave sufficient information so that he was enthused "to have a trade settled with them." Unfortunately this first slave woman died on November 22, 1714.[43] But luck was with Knight. Another slave woman appeared and she confirmed what Knight had heard from the first slave woman.

There exists a native account of this second slave woman given by Edward Curtis. According to this account, the Hudson's Bay Company built its first trading post in Cree territory in Hudson Bay. The Crees received guns and terrorized the Chipewyans. The Crees captured Thanadelthur or Marten Shake and carried her to their camp. Thanadelthur became wife to one of the Cree. Her husband brought her mysterious and fine articles which she had never seen before. She determined to find the source so she followed her husband to a stone house where she found her husband trading. She talked to the factor and he questioned her about her own country. She persuaded the factor to buy her freedom which the latter did. Then the factor asked her to lead a party back to her own country. She agreed, began her travels, met her people and persuaded them to return to the fort to trade.[44]

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[42] Ibid., p. 403.

[43] Ibid., p. 403.

While Curtis does not give a specific source for the above narration, Father Petitot in 1868 in the Mackenzie area gives another version. The two narrations are quite similar. The Chipewyan woman's name is reported as Thanarelther or Falling Sable. She discovered that the Crees got their materials from the "The-ye Ottine" (Men of the Stone House) or the Bay. She reached Fort Churchill alone and convinced the officers there to buy her. Through her efforts the Chipewyan came to trade with the English.[45]

The two versions of the Thanadelthur story give the native version of the story and tend to emphasize how Thanadelthur discovered the English on the Bay. The versions indicate the fact that the Cree raided the Chipewyan camps and took their women. The two versions were gathered at a much later date in time, when the English had come to recognize the worth of native information. In Knight's time, this was not accepted practice. Some English had acquired skill in the Cree language but no one at the fort had knowledge of Chipewyan. This makes Thanadelthur a valuable find. The lingua franca now becomes Cree.

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[44] Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, Vol XVIII (Norwood, Mass., 1918), pp. 8-9.

[45] Emile Petitot, "On the Athabaska District of the Canadian North West Territory," Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, V, pp. 635-655, pp. 650-651.

Thanadelthur, because of past circumstanc, can speak Cree and Knight can make himself understood in that language.

Knight does not call the second slave woman by name but for simplicity sake, hereafter, she will be called Thanadelthur. Thanadelthur told Knight that she had been encamped on the north shore of the Nelson River in the autumn of 1714.[46] She and another slave woman escaped and had the intention of returning to their own people, the Chipewyan. "They found it so hard a thing to do they came back Again and one of them Died with cold and hunger."[47] Knight at first suspected Thanadelthur of cannibalism but later accepted her story.[48] Five days after her companion died, Thanadelthur stumbled on a party of Knight's men at Ten Shilling Creek. The party took her to Knight at York Factory and Knight commented in his journal: "She Speaks but this Country Indian indifferently but will be of great Service to me in my Intention."[49] This "intention" was to establish trade with the Northern peoples of whom the first slave woman spoke. Thanadelthur spoke to Knight of a,

> Large River or Streights and that the Tides ebb and flows at a great rate and yet it hardly freezes some Winters. Shee talks of abundance of Indians to the Westward and Norward of them and that there is plenty of Martins Ermin fox Wolf Quequihatch and Buffalo, etc.[50]

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[46] Davies, op. cit., p. 410.

[47] B.239/a/1.

[48] B.239/a/2, 27 July 1716.

[49] B.239/a/1, 24 November 1714.

[50] Ibid., December, 1714.

Cree was the lingua franca between Thanadelthur and Knight. Neither had perfect fluency but the essential information that people existed to the westward with plenty of fur resources thoroughly whetted Knight's commercial appetite.

So, a strategy for communicating with these westward people had to be devised. Knight feasted the "Home Indians" on June 11, 1715 at York Factory and proposed they should arrange a truce with their northern neighbours to which ten to fourteen Cree agreed.[51] On the 17th June, he supplied ammunition to those going on a peace mission, and the number favourable increased to twenty-five. In a further feast on June 18, Knight instructed the participants as to procedure and warned against misbehaviour.[52] Also the Missinippi Indians, Crees of the upper Churchill River, were brought to agree to a truce.[53] Finally, by June 27, the expedition set off to establish peace between the Cree and the Chipewyan which, if successful, Knight noted, "would be the first as hath been made amongst them since the Confusion of Languages at Babell."[54]

Knight chose William Stuart to accompany Thanadelthur and the gradually enlarging Cree party.[55] They reached the Churchill River by

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[51] Hudson's Bay Company York Fort Journal 7A3, f40 [pp. 143, 144].

[52] Ibid., ff 40V, 41 [pp. 147-7] or James F. Kenney, The Founding of Churchill: Being the Journal of Captain James Knight, Governor-in-Chief, from the 14th of July to the 13th of September, 1717 (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1932).

[53] Hudson's Bay Company York Fort Journal, 7.A.3, f. 41V [p. 149].

[54] Ibid., f. 52V [p. 196], or Kenney, op. cit., p. 54.

[55] A. 1/13 fos. 11d., 12; A. 15/3, fo. 184.

August and then went eastward. On October 16, Stuart sent a letter to Knight stating that at the time of writing the party hadn't eaten for eight days so the travelling wasn't easy.[56] The expedition had by now broken into smaller parties, some of whom returned to York bringing the above named letter, but the Captain or chief of the Crees, Thanadelthur, plus Stuart, continued on till they reached wooded country. To their distress, they happened on a tent which contained nine obviously murdered Chipewyan. The Crees of the party would have fled for the Crees argued that the mission was now impossible of fruition. The Chipewyan would not, if they had this information, believe that the Cree had peaceful intent. Thanadelthur argued that the Cree remain in camp and she would proceed for ten days in an attempt to find the main Chipewyan camp. Off she went and in the ten days she brought back 160 Chipewyan men. The Cree and the Chipewyan were brought to agreement largely through Thanadelthur's efforts. She described how the English would build a fort at Churchill and instructed the Chipewyan on how they should catch and prepare fur for the trading. By the beginning of March, the party began the return journey and arrived back in York Fort on May 7, 1716. With them came ten Chipewyan to be trained as interpreters. Stuart estimated the distance travelled as one thousand miles but Knight thought the distance less than six hundred miles and the lattitude reached to be 65°.[57]

A second party that had travelled further north returned with three or four boy prisoners. They had also captured some women but the women had escaped. They brought pieces of copper with them. The Crees admitted to having killed a number of Chipewyan but they pleaded that it was done in self defense.[58]

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[56] Hudson's Bay Company York Fort Journal 9.A.3 fo. 23, pp. 87-88; or Kenney, op. cit., p. 55.

[57] H. B. Co. York Fort Journal 9.A-3 f 29, p. 112; f 31, pp. 119, 120; cf. ff. 20V seqq. passim, p. 77 seqq; or Kenney, op. cit., p. 56.

Thanadelthur, or Slave Woman, was the ambassadress of peace. Further, Knight called her the "Chief Instrument" of the enterprise and "She was a Divellish Spirit."[59] Stuart told Knight, "He Never See one of Such a Spirit in his Life She kept all the Indians in Awe . . . and never spared in telling them of their Cowardly way in Killing her Country Men . . ."[60]

Now Knight had the problem of setting up a factory at Fort Churchill. Thanadelthur promised Knight she would never rest until she had completed his work "by going among all the Nations . . . to Acquaint them with what Commoditys wee deel for . . ."[61] Knight's next step seemed to have potential for success with such an able ally in Thanadelthur.

The native accounts almost coincide with the narration of the Knight Journal. Knight accepts Thanadelthur's story. He had the highest praise for Thanadelthur's considerable efforts -- her willingness to go on a difficult journey, her persistence in convincing the Cree to continue after the murder had been discovered, her ingenuity in devising the ten day formula, and her persuasive power in convincing her own people. Knight portrays Thanadelthur as the "Chief Instrument," a "Devilish Spirit," a great persuader with untiring energy. Knight relied heavily on Thanadelthur as the language of his journal demonstrates. She is the first native in the journals that leaps from the pages -- a vibrant, personable dramatis personae.

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[58] Ibid., ff 24, pp. 91, 92; 26-26V, pp. 100-102; or Kenney, op. cit., p. 56.

[59] Alice M. Johnson, "Ambassadress of Peace," Beaver (December, 1952), pp. 42-46.

[60] B.239/a/2, fo 29; or Davies, op. cit., p. 412.

[61] Kenney, op. cit., p. 56.

(21) The Foundering of Hope: The Second Founding of Churchill, 1717

Thanadelthur, the ambassadress of peace, brought an end to hostilities between Cree and Chipewyan. If a war did exist between Cree and Chipewyan, the period between 1682 and 1715 was the extent of it. Once Fort Churchill was established, the two trading empires of Cree middlemen in the southern areas and Chipewyan middlemen in the northern areas carried on side by side. After the peace, there may have been avoidance and dislike, but the hostilities never broke out again on the scale that had existed before.

Thanadelthur was eager to take the message again to the Great Slave Lake area. She estimated that the trek would take her two and one half years. She begged Knight to make her brother a Captain so that when he met the Indians with the "Yellow Metal" her brother would have authority. But this was not to be. Thanadelthur of the "very high Spirit . . . of the Furmest Resolution . . . of great Courage," and "Endued with an Extraordinary Vivacity of Apprehension" took sick and died on February 5, 1717. Knight said, "The Missfortune in Looseing her will be very Prejudiciall to the Companys Interest."[62]

Thanadelthur kindled in Knight an almost fervent glow. The reader can feel Knight's despair. Knight had laboured long in the interest of the Company, and the one person who had opened his vision had been Thanadelthur. She had opened for him the window of the west and the north. She had given him the plan for the future and the "raison d'être" for the company posts on the Bay. Sadly she reveals unintentionally the fact that northern people do hold those who are appointed captains by the Hudson's Bay Company as persons in authority. The influence of the posts is beginning to permeate out into the frozen tundra.

Knight, in his first two acquisitions of the slave women, had stumbled onto a truth -- "ask the natives." This he continued to do. He found out about "Salt and brimstone" brought from a "River which runs into ye other Sea beyond Churchill River head," and to "Gum or pitch that runs down the River in Such abundance that they [the Indians] cannot land but at certain places." These are the earliest English references to the Athabaska tar sands.[63]

Knight was in despair over the death of Thanadelthur. She had been his friend, advisor, confidant and ally. This for natives was a new role.

To make matters worse, Captain Davis, with the supply ship, failed to land supplies at York Fort in 1715. Lack of supplies forced Knight to postpone his Fort Churchill building expedition until 1717.

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[62] Davies, op. cit., Fos 23-29.

[63] B 239/a/1, Davies, op. cit., p. 404.

Stuart and an advance party set off for Churchill from York Fort on June 10, 1717, and Knight sailed for this port a month later.

But Knight brought with him an acquisition of importance, even if he felt he was terribly short of supplies. The acquisition was a third slave woman. Says he, on May 6, 1717,

> Yesterday the Indians as came in brought a norther slave woman which I bought this day, having a great deal of difficulty to get her, and paid dear for her, for she cost me about 60 skins value in goods, but have her I must, let it cost me what will, for here is no one else as can speak one word of that country language and this.[64]

And this third slave woman was the only interpreter Knight had when he sailed to Churchill. Knight paid the price because he needed an interpreter who could speak both Cree and Chipewyan. This type of person was more likely to be found than a person who spoke both English and Chipewyan. Knight frankly admits that having an interpreter is only a little less important than having adequate supplies. The curio role for natives had ended: the necessary adjunct role had been recognized -- at least by one Englishman.

Knight decided to build his Churchill fort on the site that Jens Munk had occupied almost a hundred years before. He found evidence that the Chipewyans had been at the site earlier in the year. Knight had information of not only copper deposits but "yellow metal," or gold, as well. He knew from what the slave woman and Stuart had told him that it took at least two and one half years overland trek to get at the metal so his mind was inflamed with a sea search which he thought would take less time. In order to receive permission to do this, he felt he must have approval of the London Committee, so he went to London in 1718.

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[64] B. 239/a/1, Davies, op. cit., p. 405.

(22) "The Truth Will Out:" Hudson's Bay Company North-west Passage and Mining Expedition, 1719-21

The Committee approved and so,

> Cpt. James Knight who is gone with ye Albany and Discovery Sloop in order to A Discovery of A Passage beyond Sr Thos Buttons which is supposed to Lye to the northwards of 64 degrees in order to Enlarge and Improve ye Camps with A Discovery of severll mines according to ye Information of Indians to our Govr in the country, and also to Establish A whale fishery.[65]

Knight's expedition sailed directly from London into the Bay and to the vicinity of Marble Island and then no more, but rumour was heard of the expedition for fifty years. The expedition faded into thin air.

John Hancock sailed north in 1720 and learned from the Inuit that Knight had wintered in the area of "62° 30' Odd." Winds prevented Hancock from proceeding to that point.[66] Kelsey tried to get north again in 1721 but bad weather forced him to give up the enterprise.[67] John Scroggs in the Whalebone was reported in the York journal as having been in 1725 "to where the Albany and Discovery Sloop were both Shipwracked and that Every Man was Killed by the Eskimos."[68] It would be interesting to know how Scroggs knew this because he had not been to the cove where Knight's ships were.[69]

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[65] A. 1/117, fo 24d, or Davies, op. cit., p. 407.

[66] B. 239/a/3, p. 11, or Davies, op. cit., p. 408.

[67] Arthur G. Doughty and Chester Martin, The Kelsey Papers (Ottawa, 1929), p. 116.

[68] B. 42/a/2, or Davies, op. cit., p. 409.

[69] Davies, op. cit., p. 409, fn.

Not until November, 1765, did Moses Norton find out the facts of the fate of Knight. Then two Inuit boys related how the ships had been wrecked about Marble Island. The men safely achieved shore, and made shelters of clay and moss. The Eskimos had helped but the men died quickly for want of proper food and clothing.[70]

In 1769, Samuel Hearne reported that while he was engaged in the fisheries, about Marble Island, he took the opportunity of asking questions of several elderly Inuit. They gave Hearne the following testimony.

The vessels arrived at Marble Island late in the fall and when they tried to get into the harbour, the largest of the ships was damaged. They built a house and there seemed to be about fifty men in number. In 1720, the Inuit paid another visit in the summer. The English were very reduced in number. By the second winter only twenty men remained. The Eskimos took up residence on the opposite side of the island and quite often brought provisions. That winter, the Eskimo crossed to the mainland and then returned to visit the following summer of 1721. Soon only five men remained. They purchased provisions from the Eskimo and this disordered them so much that three died in the next few days. In the words of Hearne, the story ends thus:

> Those two survived many days after the rest, and frequently went to the top of an adjacent rock, and earnestly looked to the South and East, as if in expectation of some vessel coming to their relief. After continuing there a considerable time together, and nothing appearing in sight, they sat down close together, and wept bitterly. At length one of the two died, and the other's strength was so far exhausted, that he fell down and died also, in attempting to dig a grave for his companion.

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[70] B. 42/a/64, 29 November, 1765, or Davies, op. cit., p. 409.

> The sculls and other large bones of those two men are lying above ground close to the house.[71]

Hearne believed the Inuit version. It is reasonable and the circumstantial evidence that Hearne found bears the story out. From whence did Scroggs get his evidence of Inuit killing all the crew? Probably from an overactive imagination. One hears what he wants to hear.

(23) The Doleful News: Hudson's Bay Company Exploring Expedition: John Scroggs, 1721-22

While Knight was in London and organizing and participating in the expedition which eventually ended up on Marble Island, trade with the Chipewyan began to develop. By 1700, some Chipewyans had probably received English trade goods via the Cree middlemen.[72]

Among the Crees that came to trade in Churchill in 1717 were the "Mishenepe," or "Great Water Indians." These were the Crees of Southern Indian Lakes on the Churchill River.[73] Another group of Cree were the "Northern Sinnae Poets." Wright argues that there is archaeological evidence that the Cree inhabited the northern Boreal Forest which includes Churchill drainage system since the Tenth Century. This indicates that the Chipewyan and Cree had been neighbours over a long period of time but with the advent of the traders, the Cree had attempted to prevent the Chipewyan from reaching the English forts. The Cree liked the role of middlemen. Knight had begun the process of peacemaking in utilizing the services of Thanadelthur. With Knight's whetted appetite for both copper and gold, and with his realization that these resources were a long way off, the search for a waterway to these resources was renewed.

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[71] Richard Glover, ed., A Journey from Prince of Wales' Fort to the Northern Ocean, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, by Samuel Hearne, edited with and introduction by Richard Glover (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1962), pp. LXIII-LXIV.

[72] June Helm, Terry Allebrand, Terry Birke, Virginia Lawson, Suzanne Reismen, Craig Sturtevant, Stanley Witkowski, "The Contact History of Subarctic Athapaskans: An Overview," in Proceedings, ed. A. McFayden Clarke, op. cit., Vol 1, p. 13.

[73] Kenney, op. cit., p. 57.

Richard Norton, in 1717, was sent north of York Factory and he attained 60° North Latitude. What Norton heard from a Copper (Yellowknife) Indian --

> resolved . . . [him] there was no such thing as a Passage to them it being all a frozen Sea where they are . . . he Said itt was Such a Distance off that he Could not Travell their In Less than 3 Winters time: and he thought he could do more Good in Gathering the Indians together to gett furs.[74]

A letter from the London Committee to Richard Stanton at Fort Prince of Wales on the 4th of June, 1719, says in reference to Norton:

> You having one Richard Norton our apprentice under your management, whom we are informed by Captain Knight, has endured great hardship in travelling with the Indians, and has been very active and diligent in endeavouring to make peace amongst them, we being always desirous to encourage diligent and faithful servants, upon application of his mother in his behalf, have ordered him a gratuity of fifteen pounds.[75]

Norton was being schooled in dealing with the Indians. He had already travelled with them and was learning the language. Not only was he picking up valuable information for the Company, but he was to later serve as Governor of Prince of Wales and to father another Governor, Moses Norton, and to have adopted the guide, Matonabbee.

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[74] James Isham, Notes and Observations on Hudson Bay . . . etc., 1743-1749, Isham's observations and notes edited by E. E. Rich (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1949), p. XLIV.

[75] Lawrence J. Burpee, The Search for the Western Sea: The Story of the Exploration of North-Western America (Toronto: Musson Book Co., Ltd., 1908), p. 138.

By 1718, with increased supplies, trade could begin in earnest at Fort Prince of Wales. The next year, twenty-three Chipewyan traded at Churchill whereas in 1721 the number increased to 192.[76] In the years after 1721, small bands of Chipewyan came at varying times of the year and there were only two references to difficulties between the Cree and the Chipewyan from 1718-1729.[77] In both cases, the traders helped to mediate the quarrels.

By 1719, some of the more astute of the Crees had set themselves up as middlemen and traded with the Beavers who lived to the west of them. Wa-pa-su, the Swan, was a Cree who traded with the Beaver Indians at or near the site of Fort McMurray in 1718. He said, "They [the Beaver] Danced and Smoked the Friendly Pipe with Great Rejoicing." Wa-pa-su returned to the Bay with a sample of "That Gum or pitch that flows out of the Banks of that river."[78]

Further, in 1721, a Chipewyan boy who had been at Churchill for three years and who had learned "ye ways of hunting and traping according to ye Southern [Cree] Method . . . [went] Into his own Country . . . to show them how to trap and hunt small furrs . . . he saith yt they Doo not know how to make traps."[79] When the boy returns he tells the factor that not only do his people not know how to trap the required animals but "that the old men are very Lazy and like Old Women So Itt must be the Young Men must be brought to itt by Degrees."[80]

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[76] Beryl C. Gillespie, "Territorial Expansion of the Chipewyan in the 18th Century," in A. McFadyne Clarke, op. cit., p. 366.

[77] Ibid., pp. 359-60.

[78] James G. MacGregor, A History of Alberta (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1972), pp. 32-33.

From all these reports it can be seen that the Chipewyan are beginning to visit Fort Prince of Wales without fear, that Indian middlemen are beginning to appear and that a brand of teachers, as in the case of the Chipewyan boy and Richard Norton, are beginning to operate. What they were teaching was a commercial way of living and for good or ill the Chipewyan were beginning to adopt this way.

Richard Norton was assigned to John Scroggs to explore the western coast of Hudson Bay north of Churchill. The Whalebone wintered in Churchill and then sailed as far north as Daly Bay. At Chesterfield Inlet, Norton went ashore but Scroggs refused to allow Norton to investigate the complete shoreline. On the return journey, boats went ashore on Marble Island but the crew did not discover the bay in which Knight's two ships were wrecked.

(24) An Attack Blunted: British North-West Passage Expedition: Christopher Middleton, 1741-42

Chipewyan groups, ranging from ten to fifty individuals, came to Fort Prince of Wales in the 1730's. Some of the more distant groups made the trip once every three years. The largest recorded group of the 18th Century was 150 men in 1737.[81] More of the groups came in the fall when musk-ox and caribou were available but lesser numbers came in April when geese could be hunted. The groups usually spent one or two days trading and then returned home.

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[79] B. 42/a/1.

[80] B. 42/a/2.

[81] B. 42/a/17.

In the 1740's, the Chipewyans did increase the trade in meat and caribou skins but they brought few pelts.[82] In 1748, twenty Chipewyans "brought ye least goods for the number . . . only 130 skins a poor Story for such a Tribe to come 12 days Journey."[83] In the following Spring, eighteen arrived "but out of that Number only 4 men were hunters and the most were women and children who had to be fed by the fort."[84]

Richard Norton, commander of Prince of Wales 'Fort,' had to deal with the problem of how to get the Chipewyan to increase their output of furs. In addition, he was charged with the building and fortification of the fort because there was always danger of French attack. The French had been busy with pushing their fur trade activities out into the west. La Verendrye and sons had reached Lake Winnipeg and were even going beyond into the Saskatchewan river country.

Norton seemingly could not stand the challenge of these problems and was found wanting by the Hudson's Bay Company. James Isham replaced him as Governor. Norton, never an administrator, knew how to get on with the Indians; he had an Indian wife and a son called Moses with her. Moses when he was old enough was sent to England for some schooling.

In the 1730's and 40's, a conflict had erupted in London over the

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[82] Gillespie, op. cit., p. 366.

[83] B. 42/a/32.

[84] Ibid.

Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company. Since this almost violent confrontation had little to do directly with Dene or Inuit except that it widened the area of contact of the Indians and Inuit with the Europeans, only a sketch of the background can be given. The confrontation concerned whether a passageway existed in Hudson Bay and whether the Hudson's Bay Company had prosecuted 'exploration' as its charter had enjoined that it should.

An Ulsterman, Arthur Dobbs, member of the Irish House of Commons, High Sheriff of the County of Antrim, provided the agitation. Stirred by tales of French activity in the Saskatchewan country, convinced that Hudson's Bay Company efforts at 'exploration' were at best half-hearted, and fed by reading journals of past attempts at 'exploration,' Dobbs tilted at the charter. He was able to convince the British Admiralty to finance an expedition to search for the passageway in Hudson Bay. Christopher Middleton and William Moor commanded this first British Admiralty venture.[85] The two ships sent wintered at Churchill and then in the spring sailed north to examine Wager Bay, the chief area where the passage was thought to lie. Upon the return to England, they reported that no such passageway existed through Wager Bay. James Isham, governor of Prince of Wales, had forbade, in the interest of preventing private trade, any converse with the Indians and Inuit. As in the case of so many Admiralty sponsored expeditions-to-come, the last people to be consulted and who knew that no passageway existed were the Inuit and Dene. Isham and the Hudson's Bay Company, consciously or not, had blinkered the Admiralty attempt.

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[85] Cooke, op. cit., p. 413.

But Middleton's truthful account merely increased Dobb's irritation with the Company. Dobbs accused the Company of suppression of truth, bribery and deception.[86] Dobbs presented a petition in January of 1745 asking that the House of Commons give help in the search for the North-west Passage[87] and a parliamentary hearing was fixed upon. In May, 1745, a bill offering a parliamentary reward of twenty thousand pounds was given assent. The reward would go to whosoever would discover the North-west Passage.[88] Not for a hundred years would this reward be paid but it was a motivation which sparked a hundred years of attempts at Arctic 'exploration.'

The North-west Committee sponsored the Dobbs and the California under William Moor and Francis Smith in 1746. Again the ships wintered at Churchill, thus allowing Henry Ellis to gain experience to write his Voyage to Hudson's Bay[89] and Thomas Drag to author An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of the North-west Passage by Hudson's Streights' to the Western and Southern Ocean of America. No Inuit or Dene dramatis personae emanate from these books because the authors had little intimate contact with the people. The Hudson's Bay Company saw to it that any social intercourse with the Inuit and Dene was cut off. Indeed, the authors had no interpreters, so they could not communicate even if they had wanted to. Each of the authors managed a spate of generalized images without having intimate contact with individuals from which to generalize. On June 24, 1747, the voyage was resumed. The ships visited Chesterfield Inlet, thoroughly searched Wager Bay, decided against investigating either Repulse Bay or Chesterfield Inlet and brought back a vindication of Middleton's findings.

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[86] Rich, op. cit., Vol I, p. 572.

[87] Ibid., p. 575.

[88] Ibid., p. 576.

[89] Henry Ellis, A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the 'Dobbs Gallery' and 'California' in the Years 1746 and 1747, for Discovering a North West Passage; With an Accurate Survey of the Coast and a Short Natural History of the Country . . . (London: Whitridge, 1748).

One piece of testimony that occurred in the Parliamentary Inquiry of 1749 was a statement by John Hardman, merchant of Liverpool. In it is embodied the 'classical thesis' of the eighteenth century merchant seeking a colonial market. Says Hardman:

> Being asked, Whether the Indians would be prevailed upon to kill more Beasts than to purchase Necessaries for themselves for a Year? he said, He did not doubt but that they would, in order to dispose of them to their Neighbours; that at present, perhaps, if they were to kill furrs enough to supply them with necessaries for Two Years, they would not come down to trade; but if they were once made sensible of the Conveniency of having some Property, they would then desire to carry on a Trade, and supply their Neighbours; for that the Witness did not apprehend, that all the Indians Nations came down to trade; that this Notion of Property would increase; though it would not increase their real Necessities, yet it would furnish them with immaginary Wants.[90]

Here was an image of the deficiency of the Indian according to the business man. The Indian did not have a concept of property nor did he have imaginary wants. It was the duty almost of the merchants to teach him these concepts.

The challenge of Dobbs had been defeated. The Hudson's Bay Company could "Sleep by the Frozen Sea"[91] as Robson defined it and "Sit on its Frozen Assets."

The Images of Dene as Portrayed by the Journals

The images in this chapter span a 123 year period (1619-1742). Great changes had taken place during this time span in the world. Tudors had been the reigning monarchs when it began and Hanoverians now occupied the throne of England. As the world had changed, so had the images of the native people presented by the journal writers. True, natives had watched as Munk's men had landed in 1619 just as the Inuit watched Middleton's men search Wager Bay. When the visits involved only sailing, the natives were not required but when land transport became involved then native knowledge became a necessity. Native knowledge became a prerequisite when summer visiting failed to produce results and Europeans found it necessary to winter. Few Europeans recognized their need for aid and none said so in their journal. Munk and James suffered terrible hardships. James lighted his fires on Akimiski as a distress call for help. James did not label his endeavour as a call for help at the time but later journals confirm that it constituted a distress signal. Radisson and Groseilliers knew the value of the Indian to the European -- neither did they say it but their actions belied their beliefs. Both had experience in New France. Jérémie, too, recognized the value of Indian report and Knight became the first Englishman to recognize the need for interpreters in order to establish communication with the Chipewyan. Jérémie gave the first report of the Athapaskans and Knight praised Thanadelthur because of her great service to Knight.

Indians guided the English to establish their factories at desirable spots. Indians supplied information about the interior.

Whitemen such as Radisson, Groseilliers, Kelsey, Jérémie, Stuart and Richard Norton trusted their person to travel with the natives.

From being examined as curiosities as in the early 1600's, the native role had become functional and recognized as such by at least the fur traders. In this case familiarity had bred respect.

Frame of Reference

Sailors, who tourist-like stopped for short periods at different spots or experimented with a winter's stay, wrote the first journals of the period. Such individuals as Radisson, Groseilliers, Jérémie, Knight, Kelsey and Norton lived with the Indians and as a consequence had a different view of them. They saw the utility of the Indian way and the desirability of his alliance. There had been a change from the motivation to find the Straits of Anian in 1619 to the more mundane interest of harvesting furs after 1670 and then a reversion to the search by Dobbs and Middleton which ended the period. Writers who had lived in Canada, such as Radisson and Moses Norton, began to make their appearance and these writers had some appreciation of the Dene.

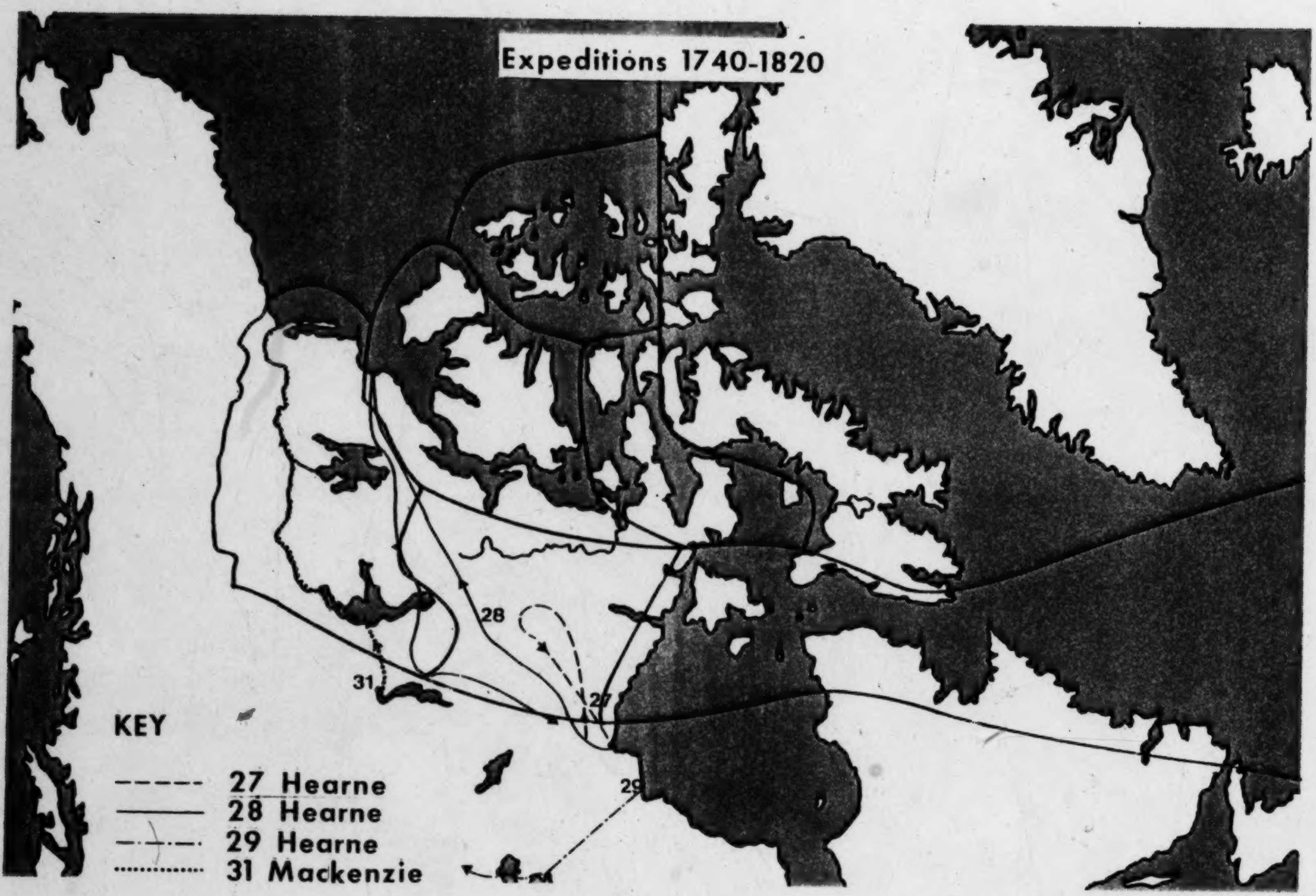
A new commercialism had sprung up in 1670. When Dobbs challenged the Hudson's Bay Company Charter, one fur trader noted that the Indians had no concept of property and that it was the Company's task to enlarge upon the desire of the natives for imaginary wants.

Relationships: Who Influenced Whom?

Changing from careful watchers, the Indians began to play key roles. At the time of Munk to Foxe, the natives played a nonparticipatory role. They either watched or were spied upon. At the time of the establishment of the fur trade forts, the Indians advised as to location. The Indians invented their role as middlemen to other tribes -- the Cree in the south and the Chipewyans in the north. The French recognized the value of the native advice about living on the land and about the geography of the land. The Company recognized the value of the middlemen. Jérémie, Radisson and Groseilliers recognized the value of the Cree in order to find profitable information. Knight recognized the value of Thanadelthur and the language.

But the native became dependent on the white man as well. Thanadelthur's plea to Knight to make her brother a trading captain because the Chipewyan would then pay greater respect has the ring of some degree of loss of independence. In increasing numbers the Chipewyan had begun to come to Churchill.

The English had come to know the value of travelling with the Indian. Kelsey had travelled with them in the 1690's and Stuart in 1715. As the European turned to travel on land, contacts with the Inuit and Dene became frequent and familiar and as a consequence both parties -- natives and non-natives -- became dependent on each other. Whereas the European could be independent while he remained at sea, when he came upon the land he required the help of the Inuit and Dene. The Chipewyan, while welcoming trade with the white men, still did so on their own terms -- their "imaginary wants" were few, much to the consternation of some fur traders.


Expeditions 1740-1820
28
31
27
29
KEY
27 Hearne
28 Hearne
29 Hearne
31 Mackenzie

CHAPTER 6

LAND GUIDES, TRADE CAPTAINS AND RIVER PILOTS (1742-1820)

By the 1750's, fur traders complained that Chipewyan gunmanship was poor, that the Crees were better hunters, and that the Chipewyan demand for European goods was limited.[1] In other words, the Chipewyan had more difficulty in developing the "property" concept as well as having few "imaginary wants."

Further, in 1750, only fifteen Chipewyan turned up at Fort Prince of Wales. Said the factor, "they have come 13 days Journey and have only purchased one pound of powder each a hatchet and ice chissel."[2]

In 1759, Chief Factor Ferdinand Jacobs remarked that he could "Sadly say the Northern Indians are the chief Support of the Trade at this Place."[3] Gradually, the amount of Chipewyan trade increased in the 1760's and 1770's. This was due in all probability to the efforts of Matonabbee and Samuel Hearne.

Richard Norton had arranged a marriage between a Chipewyan man and a slave woman. The match had produced a son in 1736 or 1737 who was given the name of Matonabbee.[4] When Matonabbee's father was dying,

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[1] Gillespie, op. cit., p. 366.

[2] B. 42/a/36.

[3] B. 42/3/3.

[4] Glover, op. cit., p. 223.

Facing - Map 13. Expeditions 1740-1820.

Richard Norton adopted the boy according to the Indian custom. When Norton returned to England in 1741, Matonabbee remained in the vicinity of Fort Prince of Wales. The new governor did not have the same regard for Matonabbee as had Norton, so Matonabbee returned to live with his Indian relatives. When Ferdinand Jacobs became governor in 1752, he hired Matonabbee to work at the factory.[5] Matonabbee was conditioned to both the world of the native and of the factory. Because he had close relationships with both Richard and Richard's son Moses, these latter people had the mouth and ear of an experienced and knowledgeable native.

Moses Norton and Captain Christopher explored Chesterfield Inlet in 1762. Norton sailed around Baker Lake in a cutter thus proving that no strait could go through Chesterfield.[6] But Moses Norton also employed Matonabbee and Idotleaza "to go and trace to ye mouth of ye Largest Rivers to ye Northward."[7] The two set off and did not reappear at the Fort until just before Moses left for England in 1768. Idotleaza and Matonabbee brought Norton samples of free copper and drew a map on a deerskin of the inland country northward of Churchill. When Norton went to England he took the map with him to show the London Committee. That Committee authorized Norton to send a European on Norton's return to Fort Prince of Wales in 1769. How important the map was in Norton's arsenal of argument is not known, but Moses got the approval necessary to set to rest the stories that Captain Knight had heard back in 1715.

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[5] Ibid., p. 223.

[6] E. E. Rich, Isham's Observations and Notes (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1949), p. XLIII.

[7] Hudson's Bay Archives, A/11/14, and Glover, op. cit., p. xiii.

Five major expeditions are commented on in this chapter. All of them are concerned with natives leading the Europeans into the interior of the north country and reflect the image of increasing reliance and dependence of the European on the Indians.

(36) An Enterprise Foiled: The Hudson's Bay Company's First Expedition to the Coppermine River: Samuel Hearne, 1769

Idotleaza had travelled a great deal in the interior. Both he and Matonabbee possessed the best credentials for guides since both were Chipewyan. The two were simply not available when Norton decided to send Samuel Hearne to the fabled Coppermine River. In fact, Idotleaza had died of an epidemic that had struck while Norton was in England.[8]

Earlier, Captain John Fowler, deputy Governor, had chosen one of the Indian conjurors and made a captain of him.[9] It was this man, Cheechinshaw or Chawchinahaw, whom Norton chose as Hearne's guide "to find Matonabbee on the borders of Athapuscow country."[10]

Hearne began his trip from Fort Prince of Wales on November 6, 1769.[11] Two Europeans, two Cree hunters, plus the party of Chipewyans led by Chawchinahaw, accompanied him. As the month progressed, and the party got farther into the Barrens, game became scarce and Hearne realized that Chawchinahaw "had not the prosperity of the undertaking at heart."[12] At first, Chawchinahaw tried to starve Hearne out. Then Chawchinahaw advised Hearne the best route by which to return. Then the Chipewyans left. Hearne found himself deserted 320 kilometers northwest of Churchill.[13] Hearne arrived back at the fort on the eleventh of December, 1769.[14]

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[8] Moses Norton to Hudson's Bay Company, 2/ix, 176-79, Hudson's Bay Archives.

[9] Fowler to Ferdinand Jacobs at York Factory, 17/1/69, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, or Glover, op. cit., p. xiv.

[10] Ibid., p. xv.

[11] Ibid., p. 1.

Hearne learned several lessons from his failure. He learned that it was impossible to command the Chipewyans. Secondly, Hearne was determined not to take other Europeans with him on such a trip as they could not cope with the difficult travelling.

(27) A Good Omen: Hudson's Bay Company Second Expedition to the Coppermine River: Samuel Hearne, 1770

Norton and Hearne analyzed the reasons for the failure of the first mission. Norton suggested no women be taken on the next mission and Hearne refused to take Europeans. By February 23, 1770, Hearne prepared to venture out again. This time, Norton chose Conne-e-quese, a Chipewyan leader who, in Norton's eyes, had some fame. Hearne vetoed MacKachy who had proven an "artful and sly villain" on the first expedition. The route taken by Hearne is shown on Map 14.

As summer came on, the Barrens became a main street. Hearne met the Chipewyan trade captain, Keelshies, who acted as mailman for a letter

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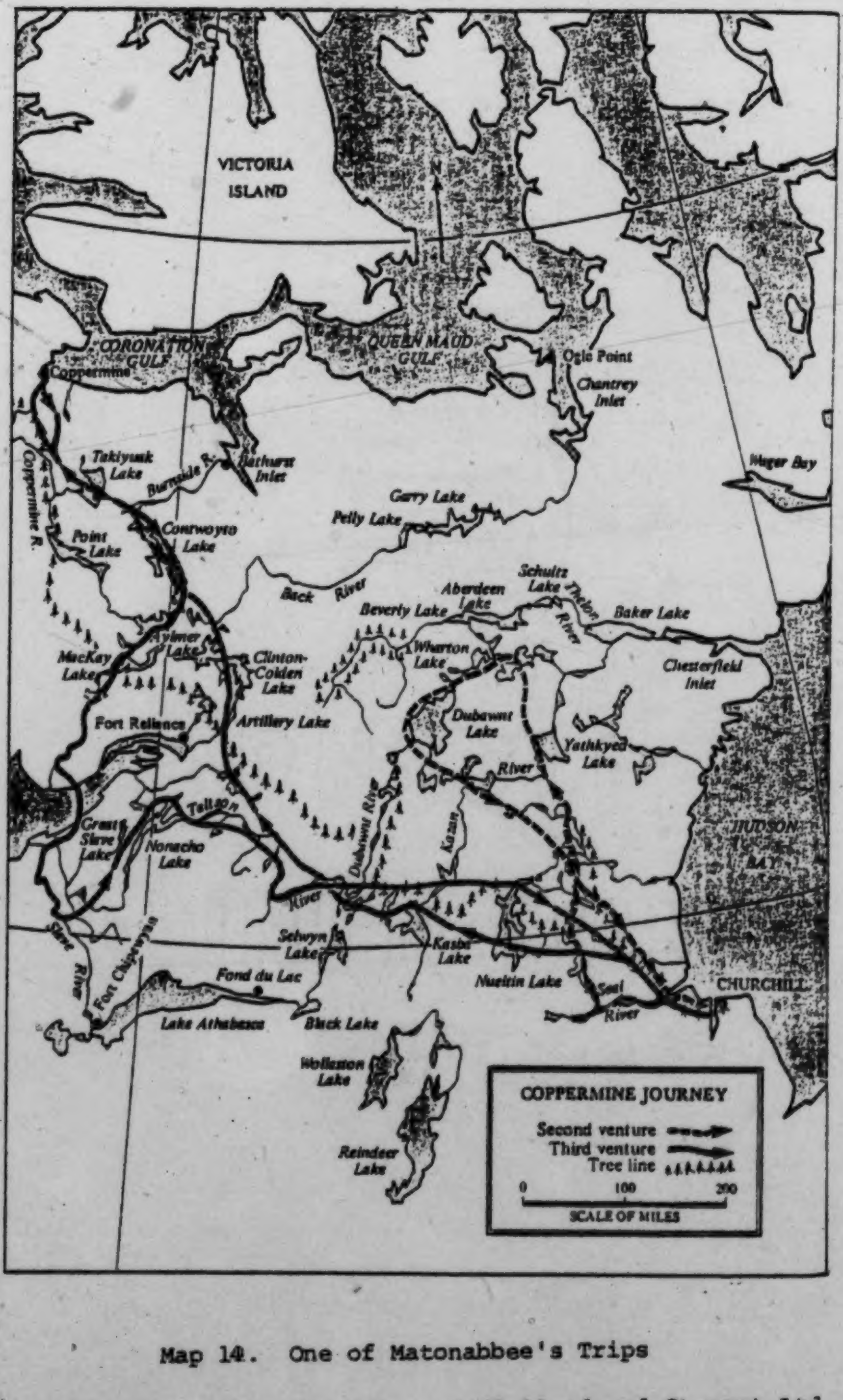
[12] Ibid., p. 3.

[13] Cooke, op. cit., p. 85.

[14] Glover, op. cit., p. 7.


VICTORIA ISLAND
CORONATION GULF
Coppermine
QUEEN MAUD GULF
Ogle Point
Chantrey Inlet
Wager Bay
Takiyuak Lake
Burnside R.
Bathurst Inlet
Coppermine R.
Contwoyto Lake
Point Lake
Garry Lake
Pelly Lake
Back River
Schultz Lake
Aberdeen Lake
Beverly Lake
Thelon
Baker Lake
Aylmer Lake
MacKay Lake
Clinton-Colden Lake
Wharton Lake
Chesterfield Inlet
Fort Reliance
Artillery Lake
Dubawnt Lake
River
Yathkyed Lake
Great Slave Lake
Taltson
Nonacho Lake
Dubawnt River
Kazan
HUDSON BAY
River
Selwyn Lake
Kasba Lake
Nueltin Lake
Seal River
CHURCHILL
Slave River
Fort Chipewyan
Fond du Lac
Lake Athabasca
Black Lake
Wollaston Lake
Reindeer Lake
COPPERMINE JOURNEY
Second venture
Third venture
Tree line
0
100
200
SCALE OF MILES

Map 14. One of Matonabbee's Trips

From: Farley Mowat, Tundra (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 26.

from Hearne to Norton. Keelshies promised to bring supplies to Hearne. At one point, there were seventy tents and six hundred people in one camp. Hearne remarked that when camp was broken in the morning, it seemed like the Barrens was crawling with people.[15]

An incident occurred wherein Norton's poor judgment of men was illustrated, at least in the case of Conne-e-quese. Hearne's party met six Indians from still farther north. The six plundered Hearne of most of his goods and Conne-e-quese was powerless to stop the theft. Hearne notes that the Chipewyan plundered the English at will, but tended to leave the Cree alone because the Chipewyans knew of the possibility of retaliation.

Conne-e-quese, like Chawchinahaw, seemed not to have the enterprise in mind because in July he began "pitching his tent backwards and forwards from place to place, after the deer."[16] Realization that Conne-e-quese really didn't know the trail slowly dawned on Hearne. Conne-e-quese had staves packed for his own tent because he knew that no tent poles would be available on the Barrens. Hearne and the Cree had none. In rainy weather, the tentless ones suffered.

The deciding factor that convinced Hearne that he must return to base came when a gust of wind blew over and broke the quadrant. Hearne now had no methods of measuring distance nor finding direction.

Conne-e-quese had taken the precaution of taking his wives along. Norton had prevented the Cree or Hearne from having any women along.

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[15] Ibid., p. 21

[16] Ibid., p. 25.

Later, Matonabbee would point out why this was a cardinal error in Barrens' travel. So analyzed Matonabbee:

> . . . for, said he, when all the men are heavy laden, they can neither hunt nor travel to any considerable distance; and in case they meet with success in hunting, who is to carry the produce of their labour? Women . . . were made for labour; one of them can carry, or haul as much as two men can do. They pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, keep us warm at night; and, in fact, there is no such thing as travelling any considerable distance, or for any length of time, in this country, without their assistance. Women . . ., though they do everything, are maintained at a trifling expense; for as they always stand cook, the very licking of their fingers in scarce times, is sufficient for their subsistence.[17]

Finally on September 20, Matonabbee and his party came on the scene. Because of his linguistic skills, Matonabbee could greet both Hearne and the Cree.

Matonabbee fed the wandering ones, diagnosed what the trouble had been, had his wives provide warm clothes for Hearne and his companions, agreed to go to the Coppermine if Norton concurred, directed Hearne to a clump of trees where snowshoes could be fashioned and even asked Hearne to accompany him back to Fort Prince of Wales.

Because Matonabbee had come as a "Gift of Heaven," it may have unduly affected Hearne's judgment, but Hearne says that Matonabbee was "on all occasions, the most sociable, kind, and sensible Indian . . . [Hearne] . . . had ever met with. He was a man well known, and, as an Indian, of universal knowledge, and generally respected."[18]

With the appearance of Matonabbee, Hearne's difficulties seemed to disappear. He was a good finale for what Hearne termed a "fruitless or at least an unsuccessful journey."[19] Though Hearne had penetrated 600 kilometers northwest of Churchill and 500 kilometers from Hudson Bay and had been away eight months and twenty-two days, Hearne had not reached the Coppermine. Matonabbee seemed to be the good omen for the next attempt.

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[17] Ibid., p. 35.

[18] Ibid., p. 36.

Churchill had not flowered after its establishment in 1717. The fur trader portrayed the Chipewyan as not having enough "imaginary wants;" they remained content with their way of life. The images of Keelshies, Idotleaza and Matonabbee are of great travellers who crisscross the Barrens at widl. Hearne labels Chawchinahaw, Conne-e-quese and others who attempt to rob him as villains, liars and frauds but they get this image because they did not meet Hearn's criteria of goodness -- "He is good who helps me achieve my goals." Hearne remains, despite his humanity, a company man.

(28) The Barrens: Crossroads of Commerce: Hudson's Bay Company Third Expedition to Coppermine, 1770-72

Matonabbee agreed to guide the third expedition of Hearne. It began on December 7, 1770. At first the party kept south of the tree line where the caribou were generally available. Hearne reproached the Chipewyan for gluttony but they reply "that the meanest of the animal creation knows when hunger is satisfied, and will leave off accordingly."[20] They, the Chipewyans, had received no such impulse to leave off.

By the turn of the year, the party met up with five of Matonabbee's eight wives. They had remained, with their children, at Island Lake because too many mouths to feed would cause difficulty for all on the dangerous journey from here to Churchill. Island and Wholdaia Lakes were safe places because caribou were usually nearby. Hearne envied the life of the people who lived in the area. He wondered:

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[19] Ibid., p. 37.

[20] Ibid., p. 44.

> It is undoubtedly the duty of every one of the Company's servants to encourage a spirit of industry among the natives, and to use every means in their power to induce them to procure furrs and other commodities for trade, by assuring them of a ready purchase and good payments for everything they bring to the Factory; and I can truly say, that this has ever been the grand object of my attention. But I must at the same time confess, that such conduct is by no means for the real benefit of the poor Indians; it being well known that those who have the least intercourse with the Factories, are by far the happiest.[21]

Here, Hearne gives succinctly the motivation of the fur trader. Here, too, is one of the reasons why the Chipewyans were not considered one of the great trading nations of the west. They trapped furs only for their needs and their needs were few.

Hearne remarks that most Chipewyans had been to Fort Prince of Wales in their lifetime, but the experiences of the journey so marked them that they were not inclined to go again.[22]

The fringe of the tree line had many travelling Chipewyan parties in the spring of the year. By April 8, 1771, Matonabbee's party had grown to seventy people. By May 29, they had met Keelshies who brought mail and supplies to Hearne. The party became so numerous that by the end of May, sixty men had been singled out to go on a war party to Coppermine -- much to Hearne's dismay.

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[21] Ibid., p. 53.

[22] Ibid., p. 67.

Hearne cannot resist what had almost become a European obsession of commenting on the life of native people. For example, Hearne comments on the Chipewyan image of beauty:

> Ask a Northern Indian, what is beauty? He will answer, a broad flat face, small eyes, high cheek-bones, three or four broad black lines a-cross each cheek, a low forehead, a large broad chin, a clumsy hook-nose, a tawny hide, and breasts hanging down to the belt. Those beauties are greatly heightened, or at least rendered more valuable, when the possessor is capable of dressing all kinds of skins, converting them into parts of their clothing and able to carry eight or ten stone (1 stone = 14 lbs.) in Summer, or haul a much greater weight in Winter.[23]

Or, Hearne noted how the Chipewyan wrestled for wives and he notes that few people were injured by the practice.[24] Further, he comments on Matonabbee's eight wives and how these wives cemented alliances and were necessary, culture dictating sex roles and labour, for a great traveller such as Matonabbee. When Matonabbee was blackmailed into paying to keep one of his wives, he felt the affront so deeply that he threatened not to proceed to Coppermine. Hearne used the following argument on him. Hearne assured Matonabbee:

> . . . not only of the future esteem of the present Governor of Prince of Wale's Fort, but also of that of all his successors as long as he lived: and that even the Hudson's Bay Company themselves would be ready to acknowledge his assiduity and perserverance, in conducting a business which had so much the appearance of proving advantageous to them.[25]

Thereafter, the Indians were headed north and with deadly intent of killing Inuit. Hearne tried to interfere but he saw:

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[23] Ibid., p. 57.

[24] Ibid., p. 67.

[25] Ibid., p. 72.

> . . . it was the highest folly for an individual like me, and in my situation, to attempt to turn the current of the national prejudice which had subsisted between these two nations from the earliest period, or at least as long as they had been acquainted with the existence of each other.[26]

Skillfully, Hearne uses the above plea to absolve himself of the "massacre" which ensued at Bloody Falls on the Coppermine. Hearne moved on Hudson's Bay Company orders. The Company had instigated the journey, thus setting up a set of circumstances from which Hearne could not retreat. The same holds true for Matonabbee. Culture dictated that the Inuit were the enemies of the Chipewyan. Matonabbee could not stop the course of events any more than could Hearne.

As the party travelled north, it met the Copper River Indians, and Hearne notes that all these people knew Matonabbee, which confirms the story that Matonabbee and Idotleaza had been this way in 1765. The party now approached the Coppermine River and it was decided that the women and the children should remain while the others proceeded on. A northern leader named Oule-eye and his family visited the Matonabbee party and Hearne castigates them for their attempts to rob Hearne of everything that he possessed.[27] By July 14, 1771, advance spies had been sent out and they reported that five tents of the Inuit were situated at what was to become known as Bloody Falls.

Hearne graphically reports the terrible scene. The Indians fall upon the Inuit, surprise them, and not one remains alive.[28]

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[26] Ibid., p. 72.

[27] Ibid., p. 75.

[28] Ibid., p. 97.

There is no mistaking the terrible shock Hearne felt and wrote about. Hearne calls the events at Bloody Falls Indian barbarity against the Inuit. All the hatred that had been bottled up in the Dene found expression in the act. Hearne says in defence of Matonabbee that the latter had no innate hatred of Inuit because Matonabbee had earlier and later dealings with Inuit. Matonabbee had to ride the crest that culture dictated. If he had not, said Hearne, his reputation as leader would have been soiled among his associates.

Hearne describes the death of three other Inuit. Other Inuit approach from the safety of cross river. They seem friendly enough but realize the danger and then retreat. The incidents do illustrate why in later years the Inuit were very leary of strangers and it must be remembered that a white man was among the marauding party.

Hearne gives the first glimpse of the Copper Inuit to the literary world. He described them as short, copper hued and some of them even as fair and ruddy. He said they dressed as Greenlanders did and used bows and arrows, spears and lances. Their arrowheads were pointed with shale or copper and they possessed canoes which were propelled by two bladed paddles. Their summer homes were conical shaped and deerskin covered whereas their winter homes were partly underground structures. The Inuit, Hearne reported, used stone vessels. Hearne admired the Inuit use of copper and dogs.

Hearne observes that before 1715, the northern Indians had no other metal but copper, except for the few pieces of iron work that they traded in 1713 or 1714 at York Fort or that they had picked up from the ruins left by Jens Munk. Hearne said that the natives from Hudson Bay area and the south travelled to the Coppermine to get the metal.[29]

Hearne saw evidence of contemporary trade because copper was still in demand. The traders from the east extracted exorbitant prices, however. Dogrib, Coppermine or Athapuscowan were mauled by the Indian middlemen. Hearne tells how Keelshies took twelve Dogrib to Churchill and how they were robbed of part of their furs on the way to Churchill. The Chipewyans shared in the gifts given by a grateful governor, stripped the Dogribs of their remaining gains and left them isolated on an island. Hearne's source of information was Matonabbee.[30]

By January 9, 1772, the party had gone to the south shore of Great Slave Lake where they met Dogribs.[31] One trade captain, Thlew-sa-nellie, was returning from a visit to Prince of Wales. Thlew-sa-nellie gave tobacco and brandy to Hearne, which led Hearne to comment on the Chipewyans and liquor:

> Few of the Northern Indians are fond of spirits, especially those who keep at a distance from the Fort. Some who are near, and who usually shoot geese for us in the spring, will drink it at free cost as fast as the Southern Indians, but few of them are ever so improvident as to buy it.[32]

Thlew-sa-nellie had been at Wales Fort on November 5, 1771. Hearne met this man on February 24.

The image of the Barrens and the tree line is that of an area sparsely populated but roving groups travelling at will. The people knew where to travel, how to travel, and when to travel. On at least three occasions, Hearne sent messages and he received responses. The image of the interior from Hudson Bay in which Hearne travelled was anything but desolate or uninhabited. It was peopled by individuals on the move.

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[30] Ibid., p. 118.

[31] Ibid., p. 175.

[32] Ibid., p. 175.

Hearne arrived back at Fort Prince of Wales on June 9, 1772 after eighteen months, twenty-three days of travelling. Hearne had set the course but Matonabbee had been the means by which the course had been accomplished.

Several more words seem needed to describe the life of Matonabbee. Hearne admired Matonabbee and gave him the compliment that Matonabbee exhibited Christian virtues but did not confess them. Matonabbee had remarked that Christianity was too deep for him. Punctuality in keeping promises, lack of backbiting and non-slandering were attributes of Matonabbee according to Hearne. Said Hearne of Matonabbee, "For to the vivacity of a Frenchman, and the sincerity of an Englishman, he added the gravity and nobleness of a Turk."[33]

Hearne related that Ferdinand Jacobs, Governor of Fort Prince of Wales, sent Matonabbee to the Athapascow country to act as mediator and ambassador between the Chipewyans and the Athapascow Indians.

Before 1765, when Matonabbee had made his first trip to the Athapascow Indians, Matonabbee discovered that these Indians had captured a party under the command of trade captain Keelshies. Matonabbee was instrumental in getting the release of the Keelshies' party. Further, by using his wits, Matonabbee escaped from another group of

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[33] Ibid., p. 225.

Athapuscowans. The latter invited Matonabbee to a feast, hoping to lull Matonabbee into a feeling of security, but the hosts did not realize that Matonabbee could understand their conversation so Matonabbee was able to face the hosts with their real intent. Then, he escaped.

For several years still, he travelled the country and brought lasting peace between the Chipewyan and the peoples from around Great Slave Lake. Just previous to his trip with Hearne (1765), he had made the already-spoken-of trip with Idotleaza.

After his 1770-72 trip with Hearne, Matonabbee was made head of all the Northern Indian nations. Hearne declared that Matonabbee brought "a greater quantity of furrs to their Factory at Churchill River, than any other Indian ever did, or ever will do."[34]

Matonabbee continued to come to Fort Prince of Wales until 1782. In that year, the French commander La Perousse captured the fort, and took Hearne, the commander of the fort, as prisoner. Matonabbee, probably thinking that the French would treat their prisoners in the same fashion as would happen if Indian captured Inuit, thought Hearne's life was finished. Hearne reports that Matonabbee committed suicide on learning of the fall of the fort. Others suggest that Matonabbee realized that the end of an era had come, and that his title of Head of all the Northern Nations was but an empty phrase with the destruction of the Company that had created the phrase. Whatever the motive, Matonabbee died in 1782 and by his own hand. This had tragic meaning for the family as well, for Hearne reports that six of Matonabbee's wives and four of his children died of starvation in the winter of 1783.

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[34] Ibid., p. 228.

But the fall of Fort Prince of Wales also had a tragic ending for Mary Norton, daughter of Moses. Mary was twenty-two years old when she died in 1783. Moses and his successor had treated Mary to all the comforts that a European fur trade post could boast. Mary was turned out to live on the land when La Perousse captured the fort and, of course, she was totally unprepared for this life. Hearne praised Mary who:

> would have shone with superior lustre in any other country; for, if an engaging person, gentle manners, an easy freedom, arising from a consciousness of innocence, an amiable modety, and an unrivalled delicacy of sentiment, are graces and virtues which renders a woman lovely, none ever had greater pretentions to general esteem and regard.[35]

Hearne went on at great length in praise of this Indian woman and ends with a quotation:

> But now removed from all the ills of life,
> Here rests the pleasing friend and faithful wife.[36]

So lustily does Hearne proclaim Mary Norton's virtues that one wonders if Mary had not been Hearne's wife, and the reader wonders if Hearne's dislike for the father did not emanate because the father had interferred in a love affair between Mary and Hearne.

If Hearne has only praise for the daughter, the father, Moses Norton, is victim of Hearne's venom. Hearne depicts Moses as a greedy, jealous, power-mad despot, a Rasputin-like figure who kept a small snuff box of arsenic to put in the wine of Indian fathers who would not grant their daughter's favours to Moses Norton.

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[35] Ibid., p. 81 fn.

[36] Ibid., p. 82.

How differently from Hearne does L. H. Neatby depict the role of Moses Norton!

> The distinguished part played by Hearne's superior, Moses Norton, in the projection and actual execution of journeys of discovery has never been fairly acknowledged. His character has been damaged by the well-publicized strictures of his junior officer, whom he seems to have treated kindly. The latter, one suspects, a person of some education and refinement, resents taking orders from an ill-mannered half breed. Such ill feeling is not uncommon between men of diverse tastes, pinned together for months on a remote and isolated station. Hearne, who censured Norton for coarseness and immorality, was in turn slandered by Thomson for irreligion and cowardice.[37]

Moses Norton died on December 29, 1773 and Hearne came to succeed him as governor.

(29) The Bay Company Moves Inland: Hearne Establishes Cumberland House, 1774

If the Barrens was a bustling place for travel in the Eighteenth century, the St. Lawrence waterway-Lake Winnipeg-Saskatchewan River complex was a veritable beehive. After the cession of Canada to the British, English and French merchants and coureur-de-bois pursued the profit potential of that route. Without detailing how the pedlars developed that route, the southwestern penetration of the present area of the Northwest Territories began with the establishment of Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca. One of the first moves by the Hudson's Bay Company to establish competitive factories inland was the building of Cumberland House by Samuel Hearne. Indirectly, this is of concern to the study because it represents the awakening of the Hudson's Bay Company to the challenge of competitors for rich western furs and it represents a basic change in strategy -- to subvert or circumvent the Indian middlemen traders. Heretofore, the Hudson's Bay Company had relied on the trade captains for the drumming up of trade. While new trade captains would now be utilized and in different ways, the modified practice would be carried on. The third event, and it like the second, is of concern to this study, was the establishment of factories on Lake Athabasca and what was to be called the Mackenzie River System. This system became a base for the penetration of the hinterlands.

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[37] L. H. Neatby, in C. S. Beals, ed., Science, History and Hudson Bay (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 105.

Hearne had returned from the Coppermine in time so that supply ships might take his report to the London Committee. The latter body evaluated the report as "Very Acceptable."[38]

Hearne, now governor of Fort Prince of Wales, reported Matonabbee as appearing in Fort Prince of Wales in 1776. Hearne treated Matonabbee with full honours -- dressing Matonabbee as a captain of first rank plus clothing his six wives. Matonabbee, in Hearne's words, made extraordinary and mounting demands for gifts. Said Hearne:

> . . . that he [Matonabbee] did not expect to have been denied such a trifle as that was; and for the future he would carry his goods where he could get his own price for them. On my asking him where that was? he replied, in a very insolent tone, "To the Canadian traders." I was glad to comply with his demands; and I here insert the anecdote, as a specimen of an Indian's conscience.[39]

This incident revealed the Company's handling of the Dene. One person was chosen to be trade Captain. He was bedecked with uniform so that he bore the trademark of the Company wherever he went and gifts were presented to him so that he could distribute the largesse to his people, thus the captain's power and authority was increased. The key advice was to play upon the vanity and sense of place of the Indian. If this were done then the trade captain's allegiance was purchased. In this instance, however, Matonabbee demanded more than Hearne was willing to offer. Matonabbee made his threat and Hearne caved in.

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[38] Rich, op. cit., Vol 11, p. 58.

[39] Glover, op. cit., p. 189.

Three other events affected the Dene fortunes at about the same time: the Cree, the epidemics and the French. Trader Alexander Henry reports that the Chipewyan had banded together in 1776 for mutual defence against the Cree and this northward pressure against the Chipewyan lasted until 1781.[40] The smallpox struck the Cree and carried off 7/9 of them in 1781 according to Hearne,[41] and 1/3 of them in the 1790's.[42] The epidemics decimated the Cree to a greater degree than the Chipewyan, and as a result the Chipewyan could now move into Cree country with impunity. But the greatest calamity for post-1782 Hudson's Bay Company trade came when Chevalier Perousse captured Churchill. The Chipewyan, though weakened by the epidemic, pressed southward into Cree country and the Hudson's Bay Company trade crumpled leaving the field free for a time to the pedlars from Montreal.

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[40] Ibid., p. 116.

[41] Ibid., p. 116.

[42] David Thompson, David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1962), p. 109.

(30) The Activities of the Beaulieus and Awgeenah: Montreal Syndicates' Fur-trading Expedition; the Establishment of Old Pond Fort, 1778-80

Emile Petitot, missionary to the Mackenzie, gave the following description related by a native person of the arrival of the French at Great Slave Lake:

> 1. I who am telling this story, saw the French arrive here, with my own eyes . . .
> 3. One day a boat arrived containing a party of French men with their two leaders.
> 4. I was a young lad, living with my parents.
> 5. I am part French, you know, but my mother was a Dene and my grandmother a Cree, so I have three bloods flowing in my veins.
> 6. Anyway, when the French arrived, they went to my Uncle Jack's house.
> 7. "Do any of you speak French?" they asked.
> 8. "Of course, we are of French descent," we replied.
> 9. Then the leader said to Uncle Jack, "You can act as our interpreter, seeing as you are Metis."
> 10. There was an Englishman in the group called James who understood both French and Chipewyan, I believe.
> 11. "Now," said the leader, whose name was Peter Pond, "Call all the Dene people together . . ."
> 13. Living in that area were Slaveys, Dogribs and Yellowknives Indians and people came from the Mackenzie too . . ."[43]

As the narrative unfolds, Pond discovers that Dog's Son is the spokesman of the group. Pond shows the group what he has available to trade and describes the furs for which he is prepared to trade. A feast follows. Gifts are distributed. Tobacco is introduced and dancing continues all night. The speaker ended thus:

> 37. I was only a boy at this time, no more than fifteen years old.
> 38. My uncle went off with the French in their boat to act

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[43] Emile Petitot, The Book of the Dene Containing the Traditions and Beliefs of the Chipewyan, Dogrib, Slavey and Loucheux People (Yellowknife: The Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1976), p. 15.

as interpreter for them.

39. All that I've told you took place at the end of Great Slave Lake on the Big Island, and I saw it all.[44]

The above quotations and resume is how Petitot reports the natives telling the story in 1868. Francois Beaulieu was born in 1771 and died in 1872.[45] He would be fifteen years old in 1786, the year that Peter Pond said he went to Great Slave Lake. The Beaulieus, a Metis family, had founded a settlement on Lake Athabasca in the 1770's. Since the Beaulieus knew Chipewyan and French and Pond knew English and French, it was natural that French should be the language of communication.

But there were a number of inconsistencies in the story as well. It was Laurent Leroux and Cuthbert Grant who first established the Great Slave Lake post in 1786.[46] These two men seem to fit the Petitot narrative much better than Pond because they are both known French speakers.

The story serves to introduce a family who would have many associations with fur trader, "explorer," and missionary to 1880 and later. It serves to underline the contribution of the Metis in the life of the area in the period after the 1770's. It portrays the image that the inhabitants first received of the newcomers and it again demonstrates the presence of an oral tradition.

The Montreal pedlars had not been stopped by the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment of Cumberland House in 1774. The latter event had spurred the pedlars on to seek routes to ever richer fur trade areas.

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[44] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[45] Ibid., p. 16.

[46] Ibid., p. 106.

By 1776, Louis Primeau had wintered at Frog Portage on the Churchill River.[47] Two years later, Thomas Frobisher, Alexander Henry and Louis Primeau had established Ile a la Crosse trading fort[48] and furbished from that base; Peter Pond could now travel using Methye Portage to the Clearwater River and into the Arctic ocean drainage. Pond established Old Pond Fort or the Old Establishment, almost 45 kilometers from Lake Athabasca. Actually, Slave Fort was built in the summer of 1786 about 30 miles from the mouth of the Slave River,[49] but it was the Pond fort at Lake Athabasca which became the "Grand Magasin" or supply house for the opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company. These fur traders knew whom to choose to promote their objectives. The Beaulieus were one choice and the English Chief was a second.

The mantle of leadership once held by Matonabbee had fallen to the English Chief. The latter was so called because he had been with Matonabbee both to the Churchill and to the Coppermine. The English Chief was a most travelled northerner with access to many bands and nations. The English Chief was with Matonabbee in 1770-72, had travelled to Churchill, would accompany Alexander Mackenzie to the Arctic in 1789, had an assignment to conduct an embassy by Laurent Leroux to the Beaver Indians on the Peace River, and George Simpson, factor at Fort Chipewyan, reports his presence in his Athabasca Journals of 1820's. This represents an active participation in the fur trade of the area of over fifty years.

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[47] Ibid., p. 94.

[48] Ibid., p. 95.

[49] Ibid., p. 98.

Peter Fidler, who lived with the Chipewyan, in his journal of 1794 mentions the English Chief's given name, Awgeenah.[50] Philip Turnor calls the English Chief, Captain Mis-ta-poose.[51] The difference in name is due to the fact that Fidler knew the Chipewyan language and Turnor got his knowledge from the Cree. The two men who got maximum benefit from Mistapoose or Awgeenah, namely George Simpson and Alexander Mackenzie, used the title "The English Chief."

While Chipewyans such as Matonabbee led the Hudson's Bay people into the Coppermine and Great Slave areas in 1770-72, the pedlars from Montreal also were being led there via the southern route. In 1778-79, Pond had erected a house at Elk River, forty miles south of Lake Athabasca. Apparently he wintered there until 1779.[52] The Indians told Pond of the existence of Great Slave Lake because on the three maps which Pond produced of the area, both Slave Lake and "Arabasca Lake" are named. In March, 1785, Pond produced a map for presentation to the American Congress. This map shows clearly the English on the Churchill River plus the Saskatchewan River, Lake Winnipeg route to Lake Superior and beyond. This map, plus the one presented to Lord Hamilton in April, 1785, shows a line of rivers and lakes north of the Churchill route by

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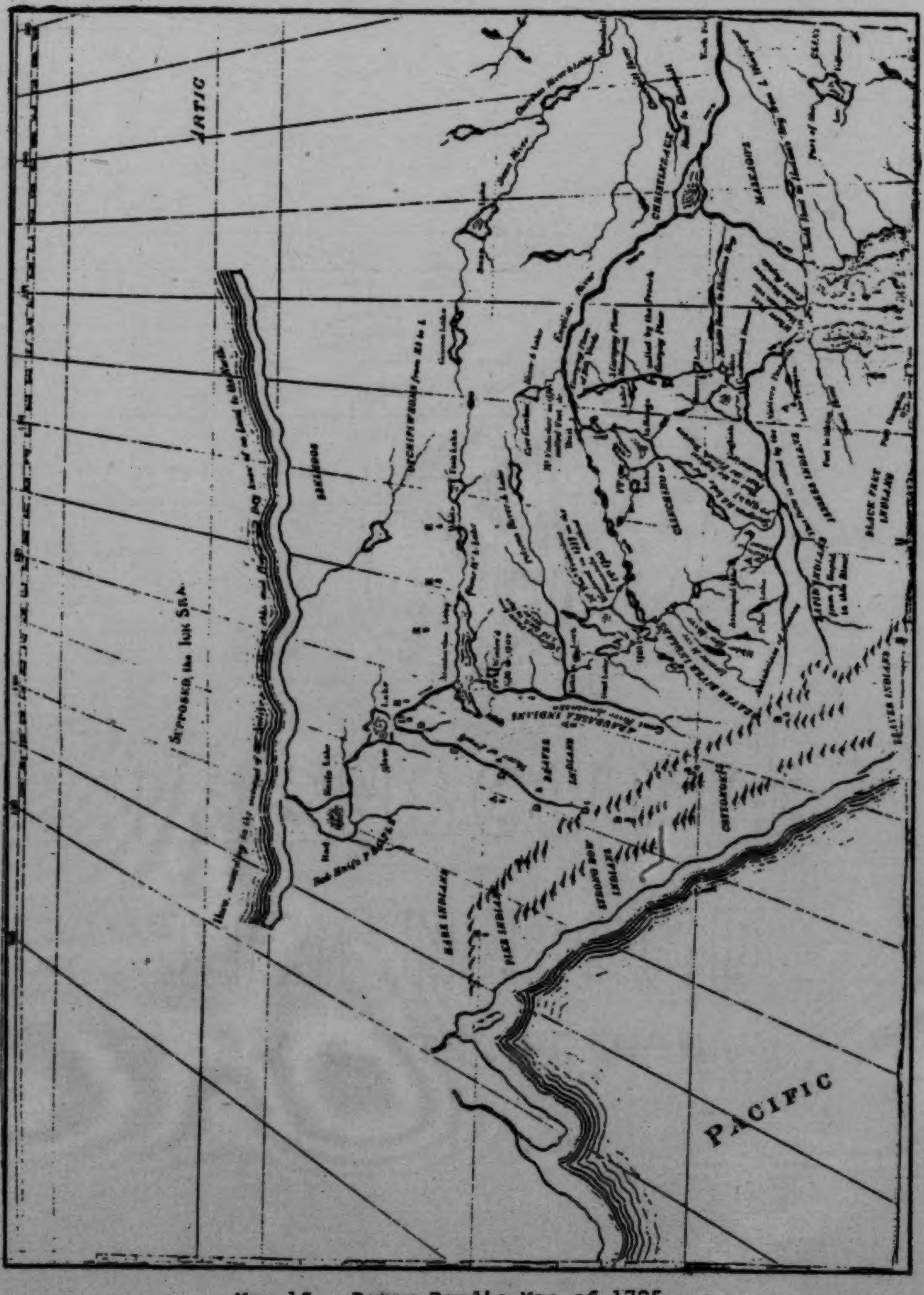
[50] J. B. Tyrrell, ed., "Peter Fidler, Trader and Surveyor," Royal Society of Canada, Transactions (3rd series, Vol. 7, Section 2, 1913), p. 541.

[51] J. B. Tyrrell, ed., Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1931), p. 449.

[52] Rene Fumoleau, As Long as This Land Shall Last (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975), p. 320.


ARTIC
SUPPOSED the ICE SEA
PACIFIC

Map 15. Peter Pond's Map of 1785

From: A. McFayden Clark, Proceedings: Northern Athapaskan Conference, 1971. Vol. I and II (Ottawa: National Museum of Man: Mercury Series, Paper #27, 1975), p. 376.

which the Chipewyan travelled to Churchill. Pond's final map was to be presented to the Empress of Russia, in July, 1784, and Lake Athabasca is now labelled as "Lake of the Hills." But to whom did Pond have access for information but Awgeenah, the English Chief? Of the English Chief, Alexander Mackenzie says:

> This Indian was one of the followers of the chief who conducted Mr. Hearne to the copper mine river, and has since been the principal leader of his countrymen who were in the habit of carrying furs to the Churchill Factory, Hudson's Bay, and till of late very much attached to the interests of that company. These circumstances procured him the appreciation of the English Chief.[53]

Clearly the three maps of Peter Pond had little effect on the American Congress, the British Government or Catherine II of Russia, but the information supplied by the English Chief and the Chipewyans certainly received a wide audience. It demonstrated Pond's belief in reliance on Dene report.

Harold Innis reports that Pond, during 1783-84, met many Indians of the Mackenzie River system and by 1788 the Northwest Company had established Fort Chipewyan which later became the base for the northward projection of trade.[54]

W. F. Wentzel, in a letter to Roderick Mackenzie on March 6, 1815, describes how a "Monsieur Le Roux" of the Northwest Company established a fort on Slave Lake in 1786. Wentzel says:

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[53] Alexander Mackenzie, Voyages from Montreal Through the Continent to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in 1789 and 1793 (London: T. Cadell, etc., 1801), p. 2.

[54] Harold Adams Innis, Peter Pond, Fur Trader and Adventurer (Toronto: Irwin and Gordon, 1930).

> This gentleman, not being of a very enterprising disposition, gave himself little trouble in enquiring of the Chipewyans whether the countries beyond Slave Lake were inhabited by Indian tribes or not, but remained quiet waiting for the furs of the before mentioned nation. These being somewhat lazy to hunt, went in quest of strange nations with whom they would trade an old knife or a worn out axe, which till, at length, Mr. Leroux sent the English Chief, the principal man of the Chepewean tribe, to do his best in order to induce them to trade at the fort.[55]

Two points are of significance in the above statement. The system of Indian middlemen began to operate here as it had at Hudson Bay and the English Chief had been forced to change his allegiance to the Northwest Company from that of the Hudson's Bay Company. Wentzel, also, depicts the Indians of Great Slave Lake as too lazy to trap; they would rather serve as middlemen. Again, Wentzel exhibits his trader bias. The new native crown prince of trade is the English Chief and the new king is the Northwest Company.

When Alexander Mackenzie was posted to Fort Chipewyan in 1788, he had available both Peter Pond and Awgeenah. The tutoring skills of Pond to Mackenzie have often been described. So too are the teaching skills of Turnor of David Thompson and Peter Fidler. The tutoring by Awgeenah and his Chipewyan cohorts is often omitted. Fidler talks of the difficulty of learning the Chipewyan language. He says:

> This night dreamed in the Chipewyan Language the first time and I appeared to have more extensive command of words when asleep than when awake being so long and not hearing anything else spoken but the Jepewyan custom is second nature.[56]

Even though the language was difficult to learn, knowing it eased

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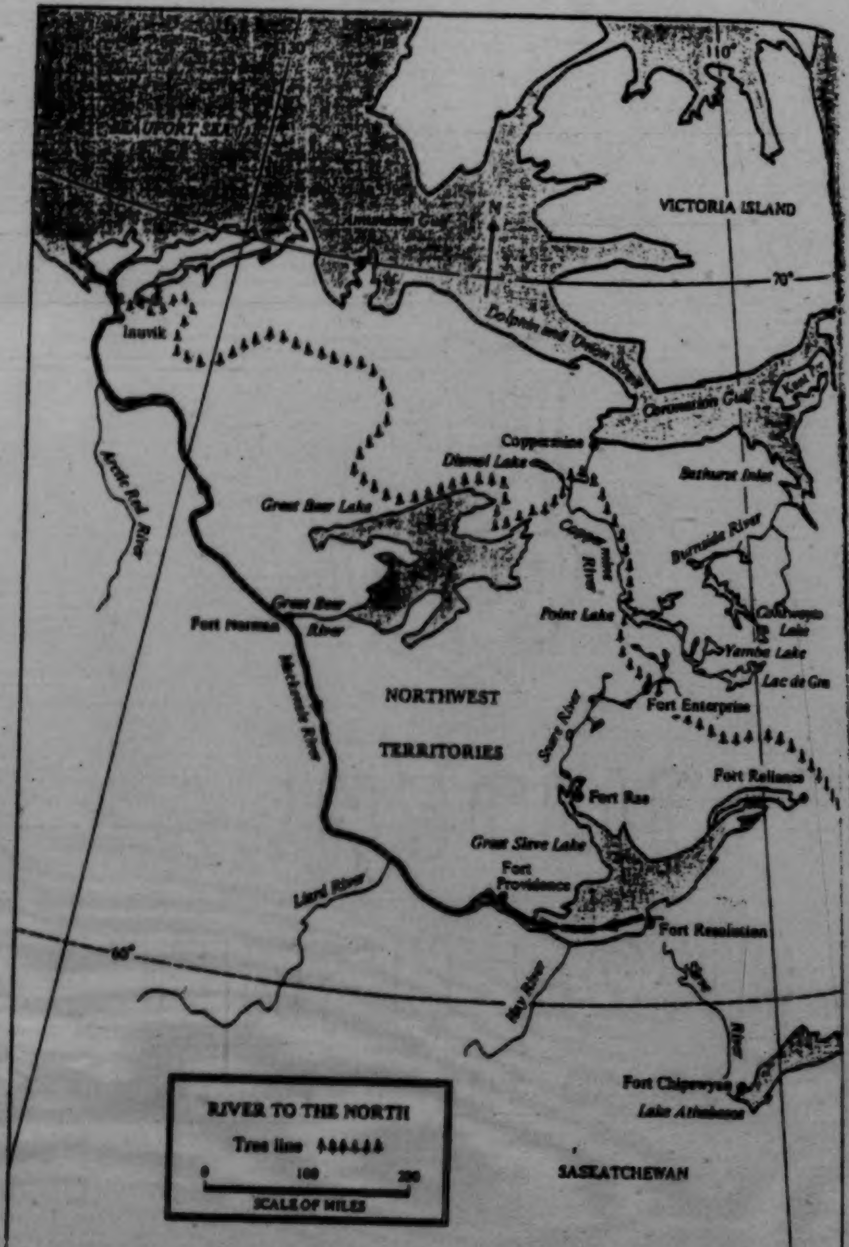
[55] Masson, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 94.

[56] Tyrrell, Hearne and Turnor, op. cit., p. 543.


BEAUFORT SEA
Amundsen Gulf
VICTORIA ISLAND
110°
N
70°
Dolphin and Union Strait
Coronation Gulf
Inuvik
Coppermine
Dismal Lake
Bathurst Inlet
Great Bear Lake
Coppermine River
Burnside River
Arctic Red River
Great Bear River
Fort Norman
Point Lake
Contwoyto Lake
Yamba Lake
Lac de Gras
Mackenzie River
NORTHWEST
TERRITORIES
Fort Enterprise
Snare River
Fort Reliance
Fort Rae
Great Slave Lake
Fort Providence
Liard River
Fort Resolution
60°
Hay River
Slave River
Fort Chipewyan
Lake Athabasca
SASKATCHEWAN
RIVER TO THE NORTH
Tree line
0
100
200
SCALE OF MILES

Map 16. Awgeenah's Travels in 1789

From: Farley Mowat, Tundra (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 82.

the problems of the fur trader. The Dene served as teachers in this area.

The Metis preceded the whiteman into the Mackenzie. The pedlars sought out the strong families and influential men to convince the people to trade with them. Two people stand out starkly -- Beaulieu and Awgeenah. The fur traders were given information and instructions both about the use of native language and the countries that the companies wished to investigate from the natives themselves.

(31) Awgeenah Travels to the Arctic Ocean: Alexander Mackenzie Canoes from Athabasca to the Arctic Ocean, 1789

Armed with the knowledge that Peter Pond had gleaned from Awgeenah and the Dene, Alexander Mackenzie set out to follow the Dehcho or Grand River to its outlet in 1789. His route is an indicated on Map 16.

Awgeenah led the party up the Slave River to Yellowknife Bay where he collected upwards of a hundred skins owed him.[57] When a Yellowknife guide faltered at finding the difficult Great Slave outlet to the river to the sea, Awgeenah stepped into the breach. He reconciled Dogrib and Slave parties to the traders and introduced the Kutchin to Mackenzie. Only when he came to Inuit territory did he hesitate, and then Mackenzie had to bribe him with a capote. Finally, Awgeenah accompanied Mackenzie to the highest part of Whale Island where the both viewed the ice of of the Arctic Ocean on July 12, 1789.[58]

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[57] Ibid., p. 23.

[58] Ibid., p. 69.

It was Awgeenah who recognized the poisson inconnus, and remarked that it was the same kind of fish that abounds in lakes about Hudson Bay. He, too, able to converse with the Kutchin, learned of warlike acts on the part of the Inuit.[59] Apparently, the Inuit parties ascended the Grand River for flint stone.[60] He found that the Inuit were situated eastward at Eskimo Lakes. The Inuit had told the Kutchin of white men accompanied by other Inuit. These were in all probability Russian traders. Again, Awgeenah informed that the Kutchin were not at the river because they were following the caribou.[61] Far back from the line of travel, Mackenzie marks on geographic sites. The marking of these sites could only have been possible by the information supplied by Awgeenah.

The return journey proved arduous and time consuming because the group travelled up river. When pieces of yellow wax were found, Awgeenah informed Mackenzie that similar materials existed back of Great Slave Lake where the Chipewyans collected copper.[62] Awgeenah aided Mackenzie in the return of stolen property by the Kutchin and lectured these people severely on the propriety of stealing.[63]

In Hare country, Awgeenah interviewed an exiled Dogrib who informed him of a river that lay westward of the mountains and which was probably the Peel River.[64] One of the informants acted in the following manner:

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[59] Ibid., p. 75.

[60] Ibid., p. 75.

[61] Ibid., p. 76.

[62] Ibid., p. 80.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid., p. 83.

> I engaged one of them, by a bribe of some beads, to describe the circumjacent country upon the sand. This singular map he immediately undertook to delineate, and accordingly traced out a very long point of land between the rivers, though without paying the least attention to their courses which he represented as running into the great lake, at the extremity of which, as he had been told by Indians of other nations, there was a Belhoullay Couin or White Man's Fort. I took this to be Unalascha Fort, and consequently the river to the West to be Cook's River; and that the body of water or sea into which this river discharges itself at Whale Island, communicates with Norton Sound.[65]

For the first time, man could now visualize a complete water passage across North America. Awgeenah was the means by which it could be visualized. The river talked of was undoubtedly the Yukon River which flows into Norton Sound, and not Cook Inlet. An actual Strait of Anian could be visualized.

Finally, a dispute arose between Mackenzie and Awgeenah but only Mackenzie's side of the argument appeared in his journal. Mackenzie dwelt on the quarrel and how he attempted to patch up the difference.

The journey had taken 102 days. Mackenzie, through the good offices of Awgeenah, had been introduced to Slave, Dogrib, Yellowknife, Mountain, and Kutchin. All the major peoples among the Dene had now had some type of contact with the Europeans. Generally, the Dene welcomed the visitors. Awgeenah served as master of ceremonies, facilitator and mediator between the tribes and Mackenzie.

In 1791, Peter Fidler mentions meeting Awgeenah.[66] Philip Turnor mentions a meeting on May 2, 1792 and describes it thus:

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[65] Ibid., p. 85.

[66] Ibid., p. 379.

> Soon after I was gone Capt. Mis-ta-poose . . . and Eighteen men with him passed by our House with Guns and a Woman with a hatchet vowing vengeance against the Canadians on account of their fetching some Women from them which had run away with them from the Canadians but they left their guns in the woods and went to the Canadian House without them they disputed a little but did not get the Women one of them had been from the Canadians two years the method by which they get most of Che-pa-wy-an Women is by the Masters seizin them for their Husbands or Fathers debts then selling them to their men from five hundred to two thousand Livres and if the Fathers or Husband or any of them resist the only satisfaction they get is a beating.[67]

The pedlars came womanless and sought out women by fair or foul means. The English Chief proved his mettle by opposing.

Turnor reports on a Captain Too-toose who is a "Warr Chief" among the Chipewyan. Turnor says that Too-toose led a party in 1791 against the Inuit and killed several. Too-toose expresses dissatisfaction with the Canadians and loyally Turnor proclaims:

> Their seemed a settled dislike to the Canadians amongst the whole which would most likely manifest it self if once the Honble Company had good settlements amongst them some few of the Chepawyans begin to love liquor and though they would not trade their Furrs or Provisions for it I saw them trade their Ice chizels, Guns, Blankets and Coats with the Canadian Master for Rum he said they would get them in debt again in the fall and that they would pay well for their drink.[68]

The pedlars are revealed as determined to get the Chipewyans to trade for rum. Until now, the Chipewyans had refused to trade for liquor but resistance seems to be wearing down.

But the trouble between the Northwest Company agents and the Indians continued to escalate. To illustrate this tension, Petitot tells that in the spring of 1799 a senior officer of the Northwest Company arrived at Great Bear Lake. His name was Mackenzie but his native and

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[67] Ibid., p. 379.

[68] Ibid., p. 453.

French employees always referred to him as "Long Neck." Apparently Mackenzie was arrogant, did not feed his employees well, and was extremely demanding about work. A Mr. Desmarets talked back to Mackenzie and Mackenzie wounded Desmarets in a scuffle. The Indians and French were ready to desert but Mr. Le Blanc then intervened and settled the dispute by giving the workers increased benefits.[69]

Mackenzie attempted to command: the natives and French resisted. Here, the French-Indian relations seemed much better than the English or Scot-Indian. The Dene demanded justice.

George Simpson, in 1820-21, lists the English Chief as one of the Indians equipped at Fort Wedderburn.[70] Again, the English Chief was reported at Fort Chipewyan in 1824. No record can be found of the date of his demise.

Natives provided the clues that allow the white men to visualize a water system across Canada in 1789. The image of a people rising up on occasion to oppose the rival fur trade companies, and of the "Many Years War" which operated side by side with the fur trade rivalry, becomes apparent. What service Matonabbee had rendered to Hearne, Awgeenah now renders to Mackenzie.

When Alexander Mackenzie made his trip to the Pacific Ocean in 1793, he had Francis Beaulieu with him as boatman.[71] His son told the story of the arrival of Peter Pond on Great Slave Lake and if the son were fifteen years old when Pond arrived in 1786, then Francois Beaulieu probably arrived in the area of Great Slave Lake in the 1770's. The Beaulieu family arraigned themselves with the Chipewyan. According to Duchaussois, Beaulieu had first served the Northwest Company at Great Slave Lake. He had killed a Hudson's Bay trader. The Hudson's Bay Company men captured Beaulieu and persuaded him to serve the Hudson's Bay Company. The latter knew Beaulieu's worth.[72]

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[69] Emil Petitot, Book of the Dene, op. cit., p. 25.

[70] Simpson, Athabasca Journals, op. cit., p. 137.

[71] Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 152.

Beaulieu brawled in three rings. The first ring was the affray between the fur trade companies; the second was as champion of the Chipewyan against the Dogrib and Slave; and the third was in the battle for souls between Anglican missionary and Roman Catholic priest. Beaulieu remained in at least one of the rings continuously until his death in 1872.[73]

When the Admiralty sent John Franklin to utilize Lake Athabasca for a base from which to launch an expedition to "explore" the Arctic coast in 1819, one of the first persons interviewed by Franklin on the spot was this same Francois Beaulieu.

Images Portrayed by the Journals of 1769-1789

Matonabbee and Awgeenah are the chief dramatis personae of this period. Matonabbee served as land guide for the travels of Hearne and

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[72] Pierre Duchaussois, Mid Snow and Ice: The Apostles of the Northwest (Buffalo: Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 1937).

[73] Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol X (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 38.

Awgeenah, had his apprenticeship under Matonabbee and then became trade captain, then river pilot for the Mackenzie expedition of 1789. Matonabbee first become involved around 1755 and Awgeenah was still chief at Fort Chipewyan in 1824 so the two are figures of note, either singly or together, for some seventy years. Moses Norton certainly made his mark in fur trade circles whereas Idotleaza's career was cut short by his death in an epidemic. Idotleaza and Matonabbee's map of the 1765 visit to the Coppermine provided Moses Norton with the ammunition to persuade the London Committee to send Hearne out in 1769 and is the first published northern native map.

Hearne gives graphic description of a Barrens which existed as a highway of people on the move, going and coming from the Mackenzie system to Hudson Bay and the Chipewyans who were masters of that highway.

Just as Stuart had entrusted himself to Thanadelthur, so had Hearne relied on Chawchinahaw, Conne-e-quese and Matonabbee. The first two guides had not worked well for Hearne but Matonabbee did. Pond, Turnor and Thompson all relied on the Dene to take them where they wanted to go.

Hearne praised the Chipewyan for their lack of violence, self-sufficiency and their method of settling disputes. Hearne lauds Matonabbee for his non-professing but maintaining Christian virtues and for his vivacity, bravery, shunning of backbiting and slander. Hearne turns about and condemns all Chipewyans for their gluttony, laziness, improvidence and barbarity towards the Inuit. Yet Hearne recognized that in the latter — Matonabbee was culture driven.

Peter Pond used information received from the Dene to construct his three widely distributed maps. Guides such as Awgeenah became the welcomers, introducers, facilitators and mediators for the fur traders. Awgeenah, as Matonabbee had done before him, introduced the Europeans and explained their mission to all people with whom they came in contact.

The most striking image in using the journals in tandem, with those that follow and preceded, is that the European visitor who received information from the native, utilized native personnel, and adopted native survival techniques had the greatest success in attaining his own objectives for the expedition. The fur traders were the first converts to this principle. While the fur traders tended to give credit to individuals, their overall attitude to the native did not rise as a result of the favourable performance of an individual.

In the middle of the Eighteenth Century, Chipewyans had a poor image as potential traders because they had limited wants; they were impossible to command; they trapped only for their wants; and few would trade for alcohol. Even in the 1820's, the Nor'westers concerned themselves in that the Chipewyan would not trade for rum. Further, the Chipewyans showed themselves as liking to direct their own fate. They had a vanity which could be flattered and thus Hearne appealed to Matonabbee to continue to Coppermine because Matonabbee would be "remembered" by the Company. Thus Matonabbee had his selection as Head of all the Northern Tribes by Hearne.

Frame of Reference of the Observers

Most of the above images are due to the frame of reference of the observers. There is almost a national prejudice against the Dene and for the Inuit, an obsession with improvidence, punctuality, expediency, self-interest and the emotionalism of the natives. The fur trader used the criteria that the native is good who helps the trade.

Land travel, however, brought the traveller into much more intimate contact with the natives. Authors began to give concrete, positive images of certain personae. Moses and Mary Norton, Matonabbee, Awgeenah, Keelshies took on lively attributes. The Europeans tended to depict those natives who aid them in their endeavours.

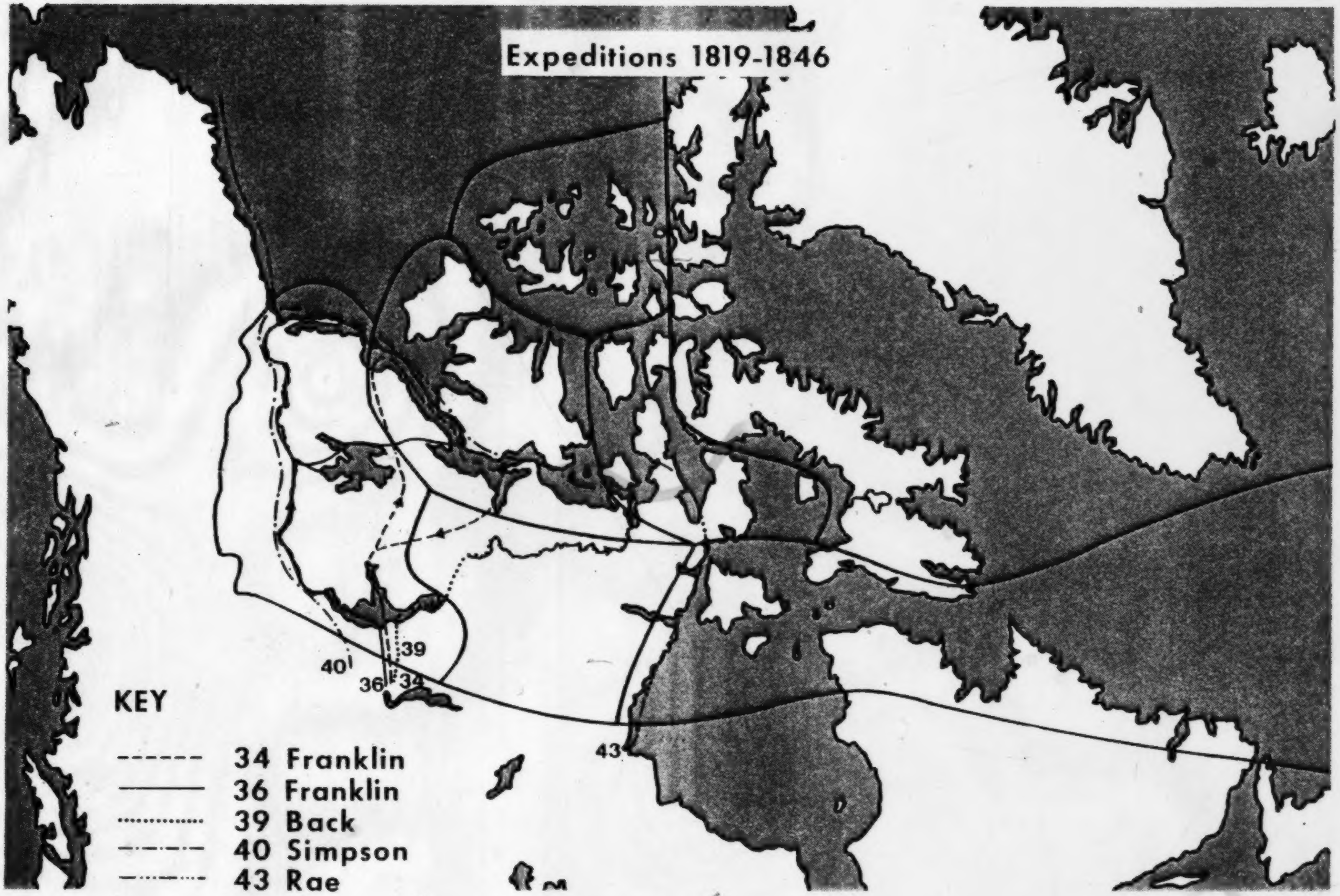
Pond, Turnor, Thompson, Mackenzie and Hearne are all avowed fur traders. Because they had such intimate relations with the Dene, the images they depict are much more real, concrete and materialistic. These are the business men and traders. The fur trader looked for the same qualities in the Indian as he himself possessed.

Relationships: Who Influenced Whom?

The Hudson's Bay Company had relied on the Dene to come to Churchill after 1717. This the Dene did in ever increasing numbers from 1717. The Chipewyans carried on the transporting and trading across the Barrens and proved jealous masters in that they would not allow the Dogrib to have access to Churchill. When the pedlar threat became apparent, Hearne led Hudson's Bay Company forces inland to Cumberland House. With the epidemic of 1782, the capture of Fort Prince of Wales, and the death of Matonabbee, the pedlars became supreme in the west and north. The pedlars had effectively by-passed the Hudson's Bay Company posts. The pedlars, however, relied on native agents to do the trading, act as mediators and ambassadors. What Matonabbee had done at Churchill, Awgeenah and later the Beaulieus did in the Mackenzie. Bruisers and bullies were hired by each of the fur trade companies during the rivalry period between the two companies to 1821. This rivalry brought rifts within the native community as well.

The Hudson's Bay Company had started the period by creating trade captains such as Keelshies, Conneequeese and Chawchinahaw. This gave these individuals added prestige in most native quarters. Gift giving and uniform provision had also caused certain individuals to rise to positions of power in the native communities.

The fur trader initially depended on the Dene for language instruction, geographical information, provision of food and clothing, and even for shelter. Because of the innovations the fur trader had introduced such as guns, alcohol, tobacco, gift giving, and the appointment of trade chiefs, the power and influence of the visitor had increased. As forts became established, some settlements began to form. The Dene, however, remained kings of the land even though noticeable dents could be detected in the Dene cultural armour. The Dene adopted certain fur trade practices. They were heavily involved in trapping and trading. The process of forming settlements about the forts had begun. European goods such as guns, ammunition, tea, tobacco and even brandy had begun to be widely used.


Expeditions 1819-1846
39
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KEY
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CHAPTER 7

PROVIDERS, MEDIATORS AND COMMUNICATORS (1819-1846)

The Napoleonic Wars had ended; Great Britain found herself with a number of unemployed naval captains. Certain of these personnel, the Admiralty sent to search the seas but others such as John Franklin and George Back got the assignment of reaching the Arctic Ocean by overland routes. The two expeditions of Franklin and one of Back are dealt with in this chapter.

The Hudson's Bay Company, after retrenchment under the governorship of George Simpson, decided that in the face of Admiralty efforts that they should sponsor expeditions to distant parts thus the ventures of Thomas Simpson and John Rae.

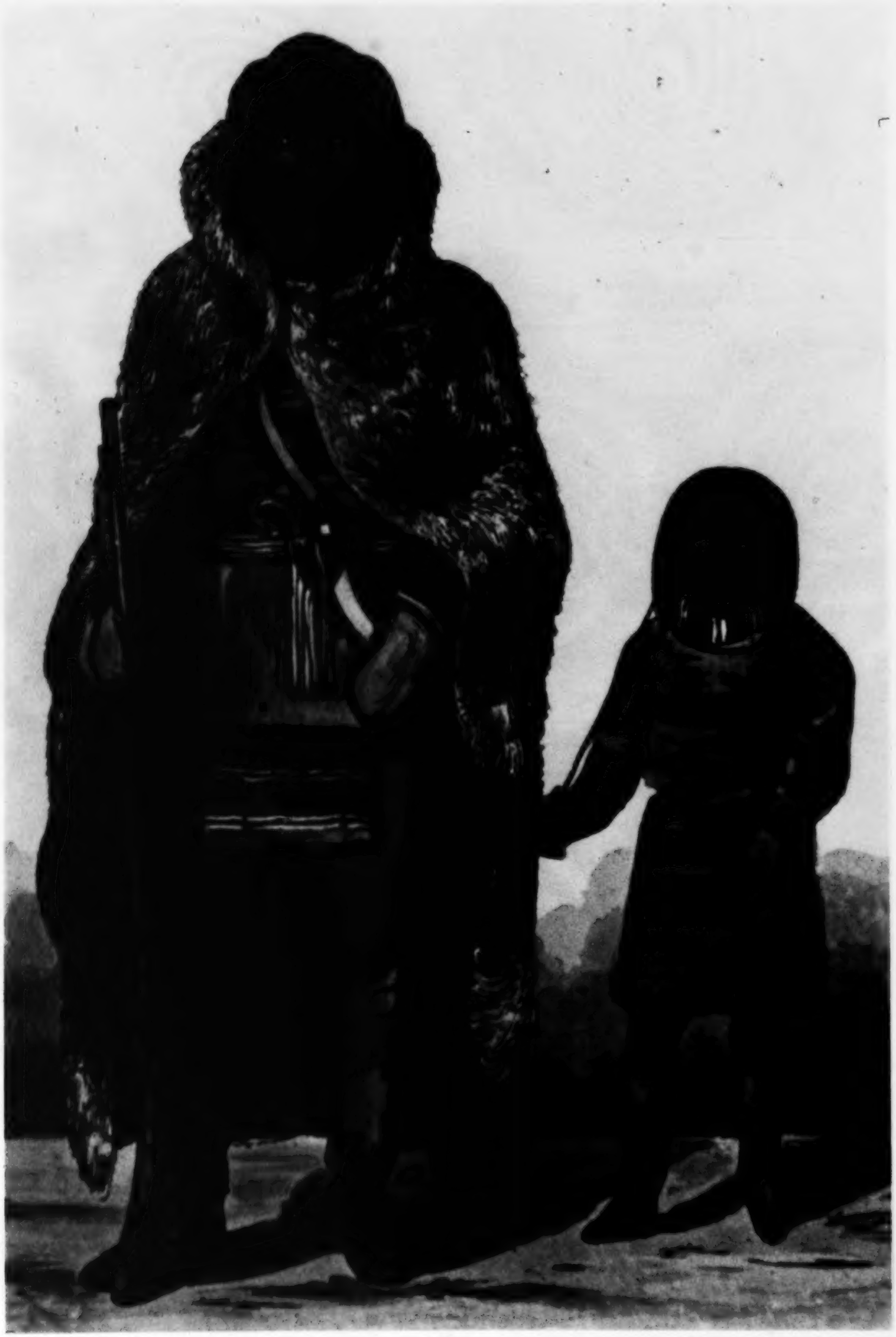
These five land expeditions provided observers for the first fifty years of the Nineteenth Century.

A portrait of Akaitcho accompanies the text. Akaitcho remained as chief of the Yellowknives while these voyages were proceeding.

(34) Beaulieu, Akaitcho, Augustus and Sundry Folk: British Admiralty Overland Expedition: John Franklin: 1819-22

Like Hearne and Mackenzie, the John Franklin expedition brings a galaxy of dramatis personae to light. The expedition parties lived with the native people and therefore got to know great numbers of them. Franklin had the assignment of reaching the Coppermine and then

Facing - Map 17. Expeditions of 1819-1846.



COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

Plate 2. A Portrait of Akaitcho and Son

Credits: John Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea. In the Years 1819, 20, 21 and 22 (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969), frontis piece.

investigating the Arctic coast eastward. Franklin came at the time when the struggle between the fur companies had reached its climax and when the almost continuous battles raged among Chipewyan, Yellowknives, Dogrib and Slave.

Beaulieu conferred with Franklin and Franklin describes the meeting:

> . . . and accordingly we received from one of the North-west Company's interpreters, named Beaulieu, a half-breed who had been brought up amongst the Dob-ribbed and Copper Indians, some satisfactory information, which we afterwards found tolerably correct, respecting the mode of reaching the Copper-mine River, which he had descended a considerable way, as well as of the course of that river to its mouth. The Copper Indians, however, he said, would be able to give us more accurate information as to the latter part of the course, as they occasionally pursue it to the sea. He sketched on the floor a representation of the river, and a line of coast according to his idea of it.[1]

Black Meat, an old Chipewyan, made several corrections to the Beaulieu chart but also added two more rivers to the eastward -- what is now known as the Burnside and the Great Fish or Back River.[2] A cursory look at Map 18 will indicate that the area involved runs from Victoria Island to Boothia Peninsula. In other words, between Beaulieu and Black Meat, they charted almost half the northern coast of mainland Arctic Canada and gave Franklin very significant advice on how to navigate all three rivers.

Rabbit Head, stepson of Matonabbee, told Franklin the tradition of the Chipewyan of the finding of the Coppermine. Rabbit Head told of a young woman, taken captive by the Inuit, escaping from them, finding

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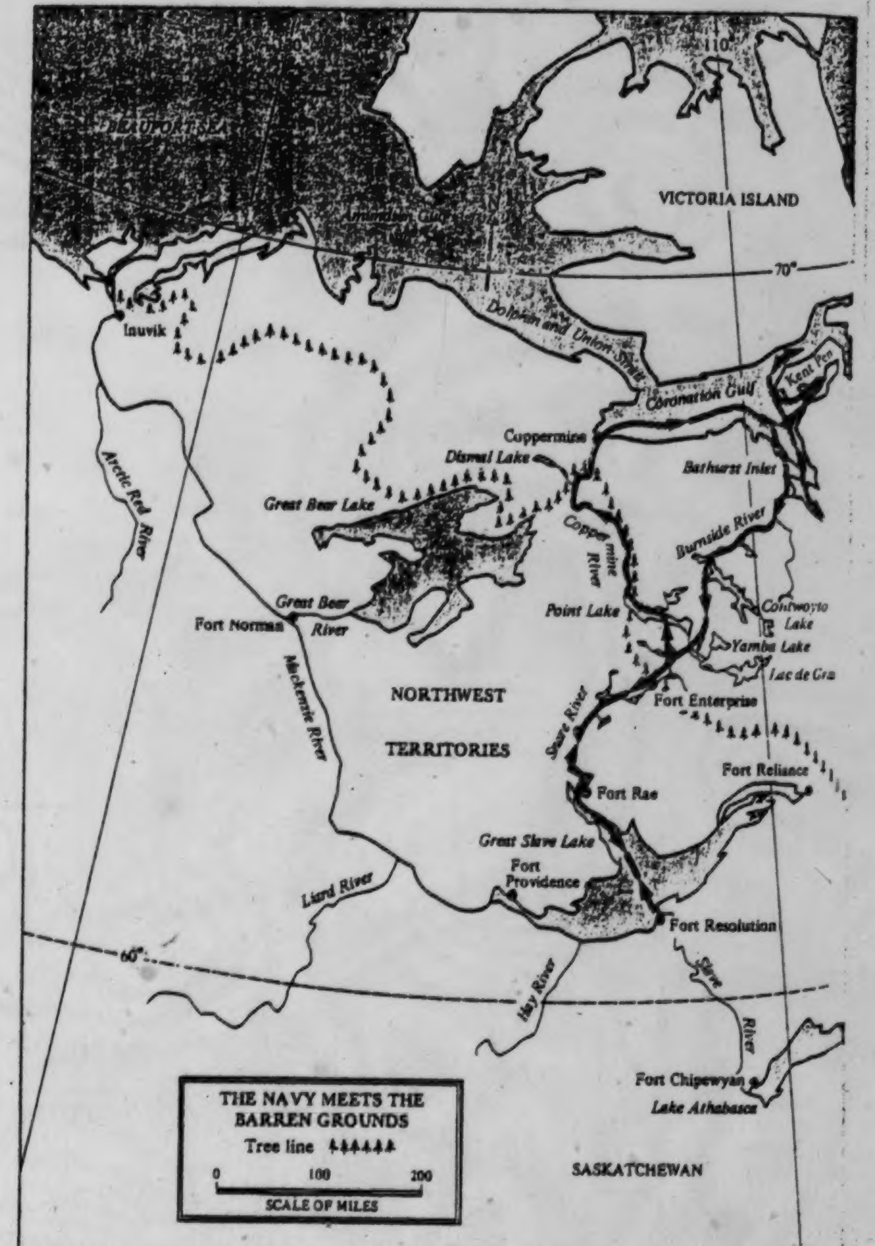
[1] Franklin, op. cit., p. 142.

[2] Ibid., p. 143.


VICTORIA ISLAND
110°
Amundsen Gulf
70°
Inuvik
Dolphin and Union Strait
Coronation Gulf
Kent Pen
Coppermine
Dismal Lake
Bathurst Inlet
Arctic Red River
Great Bear Lake
Coppermine River
Burnside River
Point Lake
Contwoyto Lake
Yamba Lake
Lac de Gras
Great Bear River
Fort Norman
Mackenzie River
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
Snare River
Fort Enterprise
Fort Reliance
Fort Rae
Great Slave Lake
Fort Providence
Fort Resolution
Liard River
60°
Hay River
Slave River
Fort Chipewyan
Lake Athabasca
SASKATCHEWAN
THE NAVY MEETS THE BARREN GROUNDS
Tree line
0
100
200
SCALE OF MILES

Map 18. Travels of Augustus, Beaulieu and Akaitcho

From: Farley Mowat, Tundra (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 116.

glittering pieces of metal and attaching these objects to her dress. She made her way to the Chipewyan lands and there was affronted by some of her relatives who did not recognize her. The young woman fled to the mountains which engulfed her and that is why in that day there were only scattered remnants of the metal on the surface of the ground -- left by the fleeing Chipewyan woman.[3] This version is very like the one told to Hearne by Matonabbee and partially confirms that Rabbit Head was telling the truth about his relationship with Matonabbee.

Franklin, however, found the story "amusing," but it actually gave many truths -- the enduring emnity of the Chipewyan and Inuit, a very factual description of the Coppermine and the positioning of different peoples on the map.

Akaitcho, the principal chief of the Copper or Yellowknife Indians, sent a message that the Yellowknives would await Franklin on the north side of Great Slave Lake at Fort Providence on June 3, 1820.[4] The biggest difficulty Franklin now experienced was in getting supplies from the fur traders.

By July 18, Franklin set off from Lake Athabasca to Great Slave Lake, Fort Providence and to a fort further north which would be called Fort Enterprise.[5] They arrived at Fort Providence on the north arm of Yellowknife Bay on July 27, 1820.[6] Franklin, bedecked in naval uniform, there met Akaitcho for the first time. After the usual ritual of preliminaries, Akaitcho asked the purpose of the expedition and Franklin replied:

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[3] Ibid., pp. 146-47.

[4] Ibid., p. 149.

[5] Ibid., p. 193.

[6] Ibid., p. 200.

> I told him that we were sent out by the greatest chief in the world who was the sovereign also of the trading companies in the country; that he was the friend of peace, and had the interest of every nation at heart. Having learned that his children in the north were much in want of articles of merchandise, in consequence of the extreme length and difficulty of the present route; he had sent us to search for a passage by the sea, which if found, would enable large vessels to transport great quantities of goods more easily to their lands. That we had not come for the purpose of traffic, but solely to make discoveries for their benefit, as well as that of every other people.[7]

Franklin further represented himself as peacemaker and promised gifts when they became available. The above quotation illustrates how, even in his speech to the Yellowknives, Franklin represents a part of the hierarchy of authorities -- the King, Franklin, the officers, the men with the "native children" on the bottom most rung. Franklin obviously thinks the mercantile system as one of the marvels of that day and represents the reason for "exploration" as giving these "isolated children" greater opportunity to do trading. Mixing his patriotism with his paternalism and adding a dash of idealism, the speech of Franklin contrasted markedly with that of Akaitcho.

Franklin exhibits the frame of reference of visiting Englishmen of the 1820's. He describes the sovereign as one who had peace and the interest of every nation at heart. He forgets that his nation has just completed the Napoleonic Wars. Franklin still searches for the Strait of Anian and he represents his efforts as being for the benefit of the Dene nations.

Akaitcho, or Big Foot, replies that he and his people would aid the expedition and he admitted that the Inuit and the Yellowknives had been enemies. He confirmed the information given by Black Meat and Akaitcho.[8] Franklin in his journal states many times how eagerly Akaitcho sought to be helpful, hospitable and of service. Franklin did complain, on the other hand, that Akaitcho appeared to get maximum benefits that this service would buy.

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[7] Ibid., pp. 202-03.

Keskarrah, elder brother of Akaitcho, and another guide, proposed a different route to the Coppermine because the waters in the rivers were high and the caribou were likely to change their routes. The two guides combined to draw,

> a chart on the floor with charcoal, exhibiting a chain of twenty-five small lakes extending toward the north, about one half of them connected by a river which flows into Slave Lake near Fort Providence. [Keskarrah] drew the Coppermine River, running through the Upper Lakes in a westerly direction toward Great Bear Lake and then northerly to the sea.[9]

The chain of lakes were undoubtedly the lakes in the Rae Lakes, Yellowknife River chain. Further, the guides suggested a lake strategically located for acquiring such necessaries as fish, wood, and caribou. It was on this lake, three days journey to the route of the Coppermine, that Franklin determined to build Fort Enterprise.[10] Franklin frankly admits to taking this advice from the Yellowknives, and then as if to assert his independence Franklin, after reaching Fort Enterprise, wanted to immediately go to the Coppermine but Akaitcho advised against it. Franklin insisted. Akaitcho finally conceded, saying the following:

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[8] Ibid., p. 204.

[9] Ibid., p. 204.

[10] Ibid., pp. 204-05.

> Well, I have said every thing I can urge, to dissuade you from going on this service, on which, it seems you wish to sacrifice your own lives, as well as the Indians who might attend you: however, if after all I have said, you are determined to go, some of my young men shall join the party, because it shall not be said that we permitted you to die alone after having brought you hither; but from the moment they embark in the canoes, I and my relatives shall lament them as dead.[11]

Akaitcho's reasons for not wanting Franklin to go were very specific and very real. The date was already late August. Akaitcho had observed the clumsy, time consuming method of Franklin travel. No wood would be available on the Barrens for the eleven days of travel. Clothing had to be prepared for the fast approaching winter and food stored. Franklin remained adamant. Akaitcho had to give in. Franklin would take advice as to location and route but these natives could not dictate the timing of travel. If Franklin had listened, Akaitcho's prophecy would not have come true.

Franklin contented himself by sending George Back to the Coppermine line of flow and making a short scouting expedition with Keskarrah.

Before the winter set in, however, Franklin's party occupied themselves with other matters. Keskarrah had a daughter, Greenstockings, who was sought after by Indian and whiteman. Hood painted her portrait. Hood and Back quarrelled over the girl which almost ended in a duel. Back was removed by Franklin, sending him on an expedition to Lake Athabasca. Hood had a child by Greenstockings and later when he died, Hood's family in England sent for the child. Franklin suppressed the story from his own journal and the story did not emerge until Hepburn told the story years later to Lieutenant Bellot.[12] Often every frailty possessed by an Indian was recounted in these journals whereas ethics prevented the smudging by the author of any member of the expedition.

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[11] Ibid., p. 225.

Back left on the 18th of October and returned March 12, 1821. In the meantime, Wentzel brought back to Fort Enterprise two Inuit interpreters on January 17, 1821. The Inuit name for Augustus was Tattannoeuk (the Belly) and that of Junius was Hoerotoerock (the Ear).[13] Back's portrait of Junius and Augustus appears on the following page.

Augustus had been born on the west coast of Hudson Bay, about two hundred miles north of Churchill. When Back arrived at Moose Deer Island on Great Slave Lake, December 20, 1820, he found Augustus and Junius living in an igloo. Apparently they had been there since freeze-up and had come to that site by the Hudson's Bay Company canoemen.[14]

Augustus could speak English and he told Franklin much about his homeland. He knew of Chesterfield Inlet, yet had been no farther north than Marble Island. Inuit of three tribes had visited his people — those of Repulse Bay, those more westward and then people from the Arctic Ocean. These latter people had told Augustus of how a party of Indians had killed a number of their people or Hearne's Coppermine Saga. Augustus knew, too, of the events of Knight's voyage of "Discovery" in 1719.[15]

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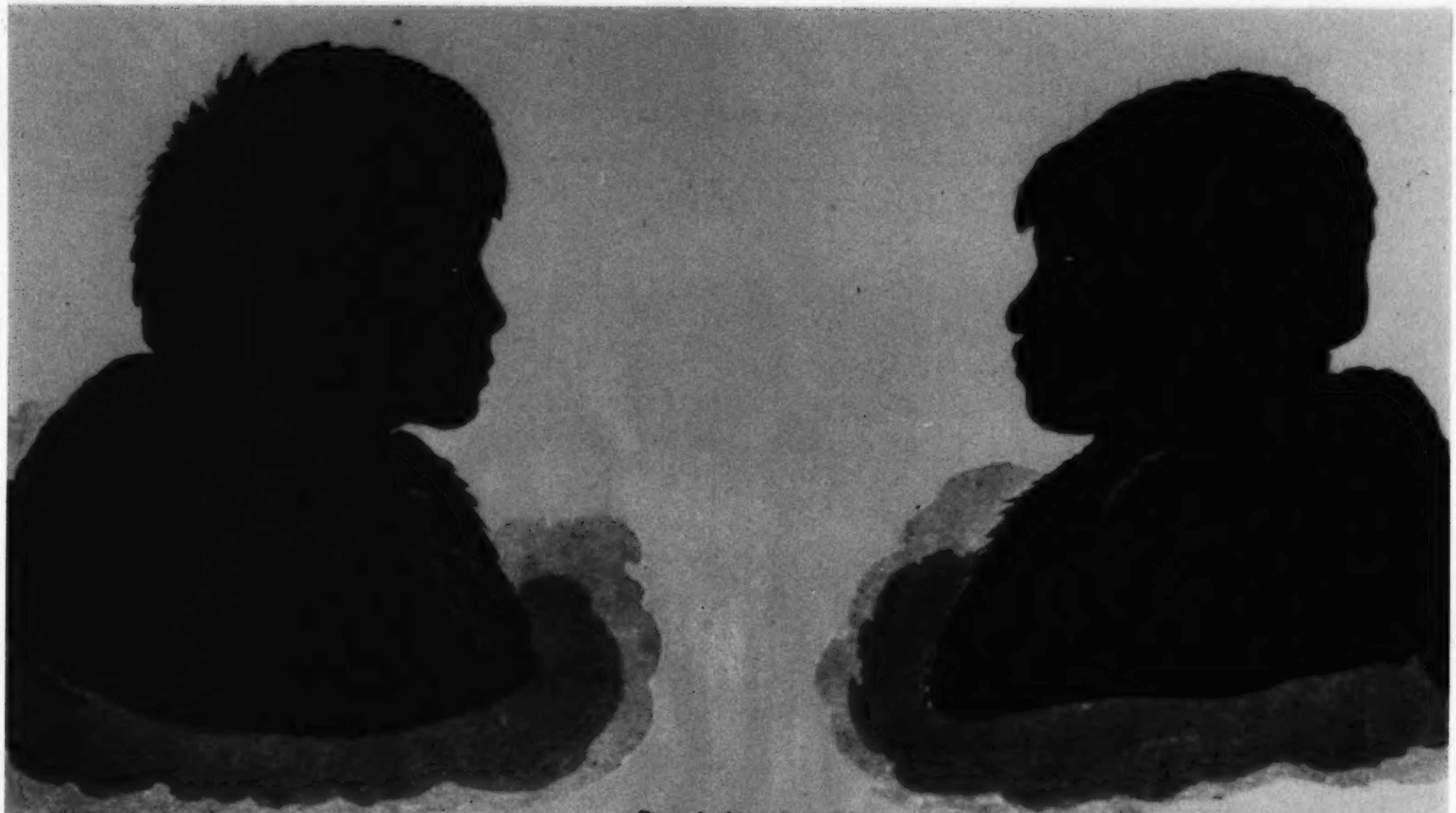
[12] Leslie H. Neatby, "Mr. Back of the Expedition," Beaver (Outfit 292, Summer, 1963), p. 13.

[13] Franklin, op. cit., p. 262.

[14] C. Stuart Houston, ed., To the Arctic by Canoe, 1819-1821. The Journals and Paintings of Robert Hood, Midshipman with Franklin (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America and McGill Queen's University Press, 1974), pp. 199-200.

[15] Franklin, op. cit., p. 265.



Drawn by Lieut. Back, R.N.

JUNIUS AUGUSTUS

PORTRAITS OF TWO ESKIMAUX INTERPRETERS

COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

Plate 3. Portrait of Two Eskimaux Interpreters

Credits: John Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Seas in the Years 1819, 20, 21 and 22 (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1969), facing 262.

By March 25, another Yellowknife chief, called the Hook, notified Franklin that his band which operated between West Martin and Bear Lake would provide dried meat on the banks of the Coppermine River in the summer, in return for ammunition.[16]

On March 29, Akaitcho appeared at Fort Enterprise and Franklin showed Akaitcho maps of the country which were to be sent to England. Franklin also informed Akaitcho that it was imperative that large supplies of food be available. Akaitcho agreed to accompany the expedition to the coast and stated that he desired amicable relations with the Inuit.

Akaitcho visited again in May, and he complained of non-payment of notes by fur traders, of notes given him by Franklin, the smallness of presents given him, the weakness of the rum, and a variety of other rumours.[17] Franklin did his best to placate the chief. Then a veritable horde of Dene descended on Franklin. The chiefs were Humpy, Akaitcho's elder brother, Annoetha yazzeh, another brother, and Long-Legs, brother to the Hook. There were now 121 Dene at Fort Enterprise.[18] Seventy or so were with Hook on the lower part of the Coppermine River. Annoethai yazzeh had eighteen children by his two wives. Sixteen of these children were at the fort. The whole Yellowknife nation had put themselves at the disposal of the Franklin expedition.

In the ensuing conference, Akaitcho demanded more goods for his followers. Franklin explained why he was short of goods and after much palaver, agreement was reached. Franklin painted a picture of a greedy Akaitcho, eager for more goods so he could enhance his reputation. Franklin played much the same game. Franklin had a reputation to enhance in England. But the conference indicates a deterioration of the relations between the Europeans and the Indians.

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[16] Ibid., p. 295.

[17] Ibid., p. 303.

[18] Ibid., p. 306.

Dr. Richardson, termed the Medicine Chief by Akaitcho, plus a party of twenty-two led the first segment of the expedition to set off to the Coppermine.

Franklin made it clearly understood to both Wentzel and Akaitcho that a deposit of food was to be left in Fort Enterprise in September so that when the expedition members returned they would be ensured of provisions. Both agreed to his demands.[19]

Finally, by June 14, the remainder of the party left Enterprise for the Coppermine.[20] When Franklin caught up to Richardson, he found that Akaitcho had expended all the ammunition given him at Fort Enterprise without materially adding to the provisions that the party would need. The combined party finally reached The Hook's encampment. The Hook regretted the scarcity of animals that he had been able to collect but said:

> The amount, indeed, is very small, but I will cheerfully give you what I have: we are too much indebted to the white people, to allow them to want food on our lands, whilst we have any to give them. Our familes can live on fish until we can procure more meat, but the season is too short to allow of your delaying, to gain subsistence in that manner.[21]

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[19] Ibid., p. 313.

[20] Ibid., p. 316.

[21] Ibid., p. 335.

Hook further promised to remain on the east side of Great Bear Lake near the Coppermine River until the month of November so Franklin could get in communication with him at that time. All of the above actions are described in Franklin's journal. The actions seem to be those of a reasonable people, living in perilous times, giving of time and effort in return for, as yet, unrealized promises. All the actions of the Dene to this point in dealing with Franklin have been generous, hospitable and certainly not self-serving, and Franklin states as much in his journal though he is suspicious at times of Akaitcho who does a certain amount of grandstanding to impress his own tribesmen.

In the meantime, Franklin gathered much information about the life of the people. He learned that the Yellowknives had traditionally annually come to the Coppermine mountains for metal with which to tip their arrows. The Inuit had made like pilgrimages.[22] Thus Franklin received a good deal of geographical and historical knowledge plus a description of life in the wild.

At Bloody Falls, Augustus and Junius now took on advance guard duties because they could speak to any chanced-upon Inuit. The two found four tents at Bloody Falls and Junius returned to tell the party of the Inuit presence. The Indians kept following and the Inuit were frightened away.

Only one old man remained for Franklin to meet and his name was Terregannoeuck (White Fox). Franklin explained through Augustus that it was hoped that the Yellowknives and the Inuits might establish friendly relations. All attempts of the Indians to get near to the Inuit were followed by Inuit flight. It had been only a few years since a Yellowknife raid (1811) so this reluctance to meet is understandable. The Indians, too, including St. Germain and Adam, showed signs of unease and requested permission to leave because of the signs of numerous roving parties of Inuit. Clearly, Franklin considered the Europeans to be the peacemakers among the natives. The natives, according to this paternalistic view, would put off their "petty differences" in their eagerness to trade.

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[22] Ibid., p. 341.

Wentzel and a number of Canadians now left the party. Franklin indicated that he expected to go first to Fort Enterprise on his return and Franklin cautioned Wentzel "before he [Wentzel] quitted Fort Enterprise, he was to be assured of the intentions of the Indians to lay up the provisions we required."[23]

The Franklin party now took to the sea. As the party proceeded eastward, the only game seemed to be the seals, and none of the party had any experience in catching seals (Augustus and Junius came from Hudson Bay coast where catching these animals is not common practice). Food supply thus became a problem. Franklin had hoped to reach Repulse Bay on Foxe Basin but by the time he had reached Point Turnagain on the Kent Peninsula, he realized that he must turn back.[24] It was useless to go back the way he had come, so that meant the renouncement of the Hook offer of food at Great Bear Lake area. Franklin determined that he must enter the Hood River at the bottom of Bathurst Inlet and cross the Barrens to Fort Enterprise.[25]

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[23] Ibid., p. 359.

[24] Franklin, op. cit., p. 387.

The cross-country trek was made all the more difficult because the party had no travelling equipment. Winter set in. All game had headed south for the tree line. Canoes had to be abandoned. The party had no snowshoes and little winter clothing. They had to wait until the rivers had frozen over before they could be crossed. Despondency set in. Junius became irrevocably lost. Michel apparently shot the weakened Robert Hood and Hepburn and Richardson considered Michel, an Iroquois guide, as guilty of cannibalism. The two white men summarily executed Michel on circumstantial evidence. When they finally reached Fort Enterprise, the party found no sign of either Indian or provisions. Augustus had taken his own route to Fort Enterprise after he had become lost. Says Franklin: "He had followed quite a different course from ours, and the circumstances of his having found his way through a part of the country he had never been in before, must be considered a remarkable proof of sagacity."[26] Franklin was quick to praise Augustus on his ability to adapt to a new environment. Junius, on the other hand, lost his life and is hardly mentioned. One interesting conjecture which Franklin does not entertain is that Augustus became disgusted with the slow moving Europeans and made his own way home on that account.

By the 5th of November, three Yellowknives reached the beleaguered party at Fort Enterprise. Boudel-kell returned to apprise Akaitcho of the tragedy while Crooked-Foot and the Rat remained to nurse the starving men.

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[25] Ibid., p. 391.

[26] Ibid., p. 440.

These Yellowknives caught fish, built fires, tended the weakened men, and cleaned the residence. They led the party to the residence of Akaitcho. Every person in Akaitcho's camp came to pay their respects to the Franklin party. Finally, by December 10, the Franklin party reached Fort Providence.

Of the supplies that had not arrived, Akaitcho said:

> The world goes badly. All are poor, you are poor, the traders appear to be poor, I and my party are poor likewise; and since the goods have not come in, we cannot have them. I do not regret having supplied you with provisions, for a Copper Indian can never permit white men to suffer from want of food on his lands without flying to their aid. I trust, however, that we shall as you say, receive what is due next autumn; and at all events it is the first time that white people have been indebted to the Copper Indians.[27]

Franklin does not charge Akaitcho with not keeping his word but neither does he absolve him, but Franklin does give all the extenuating circumstances which prevented Akaitcho from supplying provisions.

Wentzel explained that after he had left the Franklin party on the Arctic coast, that he, Wentzel, had travelled the first eleven days without food, that he could not find the Hook at the place where the Coppermine comes close to Great Bear Lake. Akaitcho and his Yellowknives had come with Wentzel from the coast and all had experienced the difficult conditions. When the group reached Fort Providence, they found tragedy had struck in that three of the best hunters had been drowned in Martin Lake. All three had been related to the leading hunters of the band so there was a period of mourning.[28]

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[27] Ibid., pp. 474-75.

[28] Ibid., pp. 402-403.

Franklin had pursued his goals, taking some of, but not all, the advice given by Akaitcho and the Hook. The winter of 1820-21 was a difficult one: game was scarce. Wentzel had terrible difficulties. Even the Yellowknives had tragedy strike their numbers. Ten men of the expedition had lost their lives.

Akaitcho and his people aided Franklin in charting the country, suggesting a site for Fort Enterprise, supplying meat when available, and providing succour when needed. Indeed, the Dene saved the party from complete annihilation. Franklin never completely absolved Akaitcho from blame for not keeping what Franklin determines as a promise to supply food but he does list the extenuating circumstances for non-provision of that food. Franklin does give Akaitcho and the Yellowknives full marks for the tenderest of concern once the Yellowknives realized what had happened.

George Simpson has some pungent comments on the expedition:

> Military Gentlemen from the few examples I have seen are very unfit subjects for this country, we do not want idlers, but men of good sound constitution who can make up their minds to the drudgery of the service, the mode of living, want of comfort, and general privations and inconvenience which are incident to the country.

Rich, commenting on Simpson's denunciation, says:

> The Company's interests were not to be sacrificed to the expedition which, in any case, Simpson thought partisan towards the Norwesters, badly planned and poorly commanded by a man who could not walk more than eight miles a day, who needed his three meals a day, and for whom "Tea is indispensable."[29]

While not very flattering to the military gentlemen, and given Simpson's fanatical loyalty to the Company of which he was to become the "Little Emperor," it does give a critical view of the expedition. What is lacking is the Indian account. It can be inferred, however, that the Yellowknives would look with disdain on the clumsy, slow moving procession of a headstrong captained group. Even loyal Augustus sought his own way back to Fort Enterprise.

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[29] Rich, History of the Hudson's Bay Company, op. cit., Vol II, pp. 381-82.

More fault could be found with expedition personnel and that of the rival fur trade companies than with the natives. Franklin had certainly exhibited the tendencies of a closed mind. He was a tenderfoot in a difficult-for-European land. He was a child in a country that demanded an experienced man.

The European found as he entered unfamiliar territory that he had to depend upon the Dene or the Inuit. He required the natives to direct the best possible site for buildings and the routes for journeys. The Europeans found the Dene and Inuit indispensable for acquiring game and for aid in transport.

The Yellowknives travelled at will in their wide territories but they knew when to take a chance. The break-up and freeze-up periods were difficult -- one avoided travelling at such times. Also, at times the game would be sparse in certain areas. Then, one did not travel. Franklin chose not to take the Yellowknife advice.

The Yellowknives had come to depend on the fur trader. Franklin provided a new source by which they could get the "imaginary wants" that has previously been described. More and more these wants were appealling and as the natives succumbed to their appeal, so dependency on the European increased.

(37) In Sum, Augustus and Ooligbuck Cover Half the Arctic Coast of Mainland Canada: Franklin's Overland Expedition, 1825-27

Franklin's Second Overland expedition to the Arctic Coast from 1825-27 had the aim of being based at Fort Franklin on Great Bear Lake. The crews would proceed down the Mackenzie and the crews would divide into two sections. The first section on leaving the Mackenzie delta proceeded eastward to the Coppermine River, sailed up river and then crossed overland to Fort Franklin. The second division travelled westward in the direction of Bering Strait but followed the coast. The company included Back, Richardson and Augustus. Ooligbuck (Ouligbuck, Oilligbuck, Oulybuck or Ullebuck) also joined as Inuit interpreter.

By the time that Franklin reached Fort Chipewyan, the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company had united (1821). Franklin hurried on to Slave River and to Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake. Here, Keskarrah and Humpy joyfully met them. Keskarrah told Franklin that the Dogrib and Yellowknife had been at war, and that the Dogrib had killed a number of hunters that had been at Fort Enterprise with Franklin. Akaitcho, absent from Fort Resolution at the time, is reported by Franklin as agreeing to a peace with the Dogrib and saying, "We have too much esteem for our father, and for the service in which he is about to be again engaged, to impede its success by our wars, and, therefore they will cease."[30] Franklin thus portrays the natives as having an avowed respect for the white men, as warlike children who need to be led to peace by a wise father.

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[30] John Franklin, Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1825, 1826 and 1827 . . . Including an Account of the Progress of a Detachment to the Eastward by John Richardson (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971), p. 10. Hereinafter abbreviated to Franklin II.

Akaitcho understandably refused to hunt for Franklin because the line of route of the expedition led through Dogrib territory but he said:

> Our hearts will be with them, but we will not go to these parts where the bones of our murdered brethren lie, for fear our bad passions should be aroused at the sight of their graves, and that we should be tempted to renew the war by the recollection of the manner of their death. Let the Dogribs who live in the neighbourhood of Bear Lake furnish them with meat . . .[31]

Later authors maintain that the Yellowknives had sustained quite a defeat at the hands of the Dogrib and Akaitcho would not dare enter Dogrib country. In all his pronouncements reported by Franklin, Akaitcho presents an image of a practical, humane, diplomatic and sensible man. Had it not been Akaitcho that had given sensible directions to the last Franklin expedition? Akaitcho had rescued the entire party of the first Franklin attempt in the Barrens. The above statement is diplomatic in that one puts the best face on what is an actuality. The Dogrib controlled the territory in which Franklin was to travel and far be it from Akaitcho to interfere at this delicate point in Dogrib-Yellowknife relations. Akaitcho takes no further part in this expedtion but he reappears in the Back expedition of 1833-35.

Going down the Dehcho (Mackenzie) River, Franklin visited the established posts at Fort Simpson, Norman and Good Hope. He met the Dogrib, Hare and "the people who avoid the arrows of their enemies, by keeping a look out on both sides." From this descriptive phrase had come such names as Squint Eyes, Quarrellers, and Loucheux but the people's name for themselves was Kutchin. Franklin learned that, in 1824, the Inuit and Kutchin had been able to agree to peace after sporadic hostilities over the centuries.[32]

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[31] Ibid., p. 10.

Back went on to Bear Lake but Franklin, Augustus and party continued on to the mouth of the Mackenzie. On Friday, August 12, 1825, a party of Kutchin were approached and these Kutchin were much interested in Augustus. Franklin describes the situation thus:

> He [Augustus] was still the centre of attraction, notwithstanding Mr. Kendall and myself were dressed in uniform, and were distributing presents to them. They caressed Augustus, danced and played around him, to testify their joy at his appearance among them, and we could not help admiring the demeanour of our excellent little companion under such extravagant marks of attention.[33]

Franklin commends Augustus for his behaviour but the fact that the Inuit show much more interest in Augustus than in the two bedecked officers and their presents is also noted. After the meeting, the party returned upriver to Fort Franklin to spend the winter of 1825-26.

In the spring of 1826, the westward contingent boated on to the mouth of the Mackenzie and there met a group of Inuit. Some seventy-three canoes and five oomiaks came out to meet the Lion and the Reliance. Franklin described the services performed by Augustus thus:

> They [the Inuit] advanced towards us with much caution, halting just within speaking distance, until they had been assured of our friendship, and repeatedly invited by Augustus to receive the present which I [Franklin] offered them. Augustus next explained to them in detail the purport of our visit, and told them that if we succeeded in finding a navigable channel for large ships, a trade highly profitable to them would be opened. They were delighted with this intelligence and repeated it to

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[32] Ibid., p. 24.

[33] Ibid., p. 27.

> their countrymen, who testified their joy by tossing their hands aloft, and raising the most deafening shout of applause I ever heard.[34]

The kayaks and oomiaks now came closer but one of the kayaks was accidentally overturned by one of the boat's oars and the occupant almost drowned because his head became stuck in the mud. The fellow was rescued and Augustus soothed his anger by covering him with his overcoat. But matters went from bad to worse. The Inuit climbed aboard the boats and physically dragged them to shore. Both boat crews were hard pressed to keep the enthusiastic Inuit from overwhelming them and stripping the boats of all moveable objects. Finally, after hours of hassling, Franklin told Augustus to warn the Inuit that unless they desisted the Englishmen would fire. Franklin could see that there were friendly Inuit trying to restrain the more frantic. Franklin also realized that he must get advice from these same Inuit as to the state of the ice and the depth of the sea in these areas, so he was reluctant to cause any rupture of friendship.

Once the Inuit had the information which Augustus imparted, the behaviour of the Inuit changed from suspicious to open friendship. Then irritation set in which led to hostility and then the Europeans had to resort to might is right but expediency held the European trigger finger.

Seven or eight Inuit invited Augustus on shore, and he was most eager to go. Off he went and delivered the following extemporaneous harangue to the crowd:

> Your conduct has been very bad, and unlike that of all the Esquimaux. Some of you even stole from me, one of your own

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[34] Ibid., p. 100.

> countrymen, but that I do not mind; I only regret that you should have treated in this violent manner the white people who came solely to do you kindness. My tribe were in the same unhappy state in which you now are, before the white people came to Churchill, but at present they are supplied with every thing they need, and you see that I am well clothed; I get all that I want, and am very comfortable. You cannot expect, after the transactions of this day, that these people will ever bring goods to your country again, unless you show your contrition by returning the stolen goods. The white people love the Esquimaux, and wish to shew them the same kindness that they bestow upon the Indians: do not deceive yourselves, and supposed that they are afraid of you: I tell you they are not, and that is entirely owing to their humanity that many of you were not killed today; for they have all guns, with which they can destroy you either when you are near or at a distance. I also have a gun and can assure you that if a white man had fallen, I would have been the first to have revenged his death.[35]

At least, this is what Augustus told Franklin that he said for Franklin could not understand Inuktitut. But Augustus delivered the above to an attentive and responsive audience. Augustus reported that his hearers repented of their actions and pleaded that they had never before seen white people and all the new and interesting things they possessed. Franklin told Augustus to tell the Inuit to return a number of missing items. This they did. Afterwards, Augustus went on shore and danced and sang with the Inuit. He later said that the songs and dances which they had performed were precisely the same as those of his own country. He also got the required information from the people that would allow the two boats to leave the river.

Franklin describes the incident in detail to illustrate the service rendered by Augustus. It can be inferred from the description that Augustus served as mediator, interpreter, diplomat and facilitator.

This incident clearly demonstrates that if Augustus had not performed his offices that the expedition would have been destroyed. Without Augustus, the mediator, interpreter, and diplomat, the expedition could not have continued. Franklin has only admiration for the actions of this cool facilitator.

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[35] Ibid., pp. 108-109.

The boats sailed off and left the fractious party behind. After a day of sailing, the party landed and set up camp. In the night, three Inuit men blundered into the camp and only the voice of Augustus calmed them and explained the nature of the visit of the white men. The Inuit were overjoyed and Augustus accompanied them back to their village. After five hours separation, they returned with about twenty men and two old women. The visit was friendly and the Inuit acutely observed, "We wonder therefore that you are not provided with sledges and dogs, as our men are, to travel along the land, when these interruptions occur [ice blocking the sea]."[36] What the Inuit did not realize was that men of Franklin's frame of reference did not know what equipment was necessary nor would they inquire of the only experts on Arctic travel -- the Inuit, themselves. It would take until the time of Stefansson and Rasmussen for some of these lessons to be learned.

Unknown to Franklin, Captain Beechey's ship, which had come through the Bering Straits, was but a scant 160 miles westward to Return Reef. Beechey described how the Alaskan Inuit had built for him a scale model of the entire beach from Cape Derby to Cape Krusenstern with all the islands along the coast included.[37] Beechey, like Franklin, expressed surprise at the extent of the geographical knowledge of the Inuit. The Europeans had come with the idea that the Inuit were ignorant of such things.

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[36] Ibid., p. 120.

[37] John Tillotson, Adventures in the Ice: A Comprehensive Summary of Arctic Exploration, Discovery and Adventure Including Experiences of Captain Penny, the Veteran Whaler (London: John Hogg, 1869), p. 189.

On the Franklin return journey, a small Inuit party welcomed them to their encampment, "the women with much good nature, sewed seal skin to the men's moccasins, in order to fit them better for the operation of tracking, in which they were soon to be employed."[38] Again, the Inuit demonstrate their hospitality to the strangers. The women offer to perform these services rather than waiting to be asked.

The Inuit also advised that the party which assailed the boats earlier could be avoided by taking a more westerly channel of the Mackenzie River.[39] The Inuit also warned of an attacking Indian party and advised a course which would avoid such attack. Apparently these Indians had heard of the Inuit attack on the boats and they wanted to do a repeat performance. The boats escaped into the Mackenzie and by September 21 were back in Fort Franklin.

In the meantime, the first party which the Dolphin and Union met, on their trip eastward, was at Richard's Island. Richardson and Ooligbuck landed, met twenty or so men and their families, but Ooligbuck felt the atmosphere not ripe for friendship or even equitable trading. He informed Richardson that they should return to the boats and even carried that officer "piggy-back" through the shallow water. The whole encampment of Inuit entered their own boats and followed the Dolphin and the Union, bartering as they sailed parallel. Richardson reports: "The natives seemed to have a correct idea of property, and showed much tact in their commerce with us; circumstances which have been held by an eminent historian to be evidences of a considerable progress towards civilization." But it was Ooligbuck who warned Richardson to keep in the boats and to leave these people whose enthusiasm could be interpreted as leading to harm.[40]

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[38] Franklin II, op. cit., p. 179.

[39] Ibid., p. 175.

More encampments were passed and each of the inhabitants took up bag and baggage to follow the Dolphin and Union. Both crews had to keep rowing as the moving oars kept the speedy and maneuverable kayaks away. But the Arctic ice kept the two boats close to the shore and inevitably the boats grounded. Richardson and Kendall had their men show their arms and this frightened the Inuit off. Finally, the boats managed to hoist sail and the kayaks were outdistanced.

Certain information was gained from these inhabitants of the land near the mountains or Kitte-garroe-oot. These were the people who inhabited what later was known as Kittigazuit. Richardson found out that the Kitte-garroe-oot were now on their way to capture the white whale. These people traded with the "Quarrellers" or Kutchin at the Narrows of the Mackenzie. The Kitte-garroe-oot knew of the Inuit of the Coppermine whom they called the Naggoe-ook-tor-moe-oot (or Deer-horns). They knew of the white people or Kabloonacht and the Indians or Eitkallig -- terms common to Hudson Bay. Thus Richardson received information about the geography of the area through which he travelled and about the relations of the tribes with others in the area.

The place where these incidents occurred was called Encounter Bay.

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[40] Ibid., p. 195.

Recent archaeological digs at Kittigazuit show that this centre had existed since 1000 A.D. and that it had been occupied by a fairly constant population of two thousand ever since that date.[41]

Of Ooligbuck, Richardson says:

> Ooligbuck was not of much use as an interpreter, in our intercourse with these people, for he spoke no English, but his presence answered the important purpose of showing that the white people were on terms of friendship with distant tribes of Esquimaux. As a boatman he was of the greatest service, being strongly attached to us, possessing an excellent temper, and labouring cheerfully at his oar.[42]

Richardson recognized that Ooligbuck served as a model and a symbol in the establishment of good relations between Inuit and white men but he longed for an interpreter who would tell him all.

This eastern contingent reached the mouth of the Coppermine, travelled up the river to the bend where it almost touches Great Bear Lake. At that point they had a welcoming party of three Hare. It-chinnah, the Hare chief, had informed the three of the possibility white men might be in the area and the three joyfully conducted the visitors to the Indian portage road which would lead them directly across the hills to Dease Bay. They arrived on July 18 and Beaulieu, with four Chipewyans, four Canadians and ten Dogrib, which when wives and children were added in, made a total of thirty people. It was an easy route back to Fort Franklin with Beaulieu conducting the way.

Richardson concludes his narrative with the following tribute to Ooligbuck:

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[41] Robert McGhee, "Kittigazuit," Beaver (1971).

[42] Franklin II, op. cit., p. 204.

> Our good natured and faithful friend, Ooligbuck, carried with him the warmest wishes and esteem of the whole party. His attachment to us was never doubtful, even when we were surrounded by a tribe of his own nation.[43]

With Ooligbuck as the facilitator of relations with the Inuit, the Hare as guides to cross the portage between the Coppermine River and Great Bear Lake and Beaulieu as transporter of the group across the wide expanse of Great Bear Lake, this leg of the expedition had travelled a huge circuit with relative ease and no loss of life. It had been accomplished with the cooperation of three native groups: Inuit, Hare and Metis.

Franklin and the now combined parties found that fresh supplies of meat had not been gathered by the Dogrib about Fort Franklin. He says, "This excuse [fear of the Yellowknives] . . . had been so often alleged without a cause, that it was considered mere evasion, and we attributed their negligence to the indolence and apathy which mark the character of this tribe."[44] The Dogrib had not come up to Franklin's expectations and so they were "indolent, apathetic and negligent." After being conveyed, fed, sheltered, nursed, guided, and advised by the Dene, Franklin's words seem to echo gross ingratitude. Certainly, Akaitcho had indicated that revenge was very much on his mind, and since Yellowknife-Dogrib hostilities had only ceased short years before, the Dogrib had good reason to keep a low profile.

The winter passed quickly and by June, 1827, Franklin had arrived at Norway House. Here he paid his adieu to Augustus and Ooligbuck. Said

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[43] Ibid., p. 283.

[44] Ibid., p. 288.

Franklin:

> The tears which he [Augustus] shed at our parting, so unusual in those uncultivated tribes, showed the strength of his feeling; an affection which . . . was mutually felt by every individual. With great regret he learned that there was no immediate prospect of our again meeting, and he expressed a very strong desire to be informed, if another Expedition should be sent to any of the northern parts of America, whether by sea or land; and repeatedly assured me, that he and Ooligbuck would be ready at any time to quit their families and their country, to accompany any of their present officers wherever the Expedition might be ordered.[45]

Franklin lets loose his term "uncultivated tribes" as if he were surprised at the emotional display of such people as Augustus. Hardship had caused a bond of feeling; Augustus expressed it openly and Franklin, by mentioning the fact, also expresses it in his own way. Franklin reaped a knighthood and a governorship of Tasmania for his efforts in northern North America; Augustus and Ooligbuck became employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(39) Augustus and the Lack of His Presence: British Arctic Land Expedition: George Back, 1833-35

Black Meat had suggested the existence of the Thlew-ee-choh (Great Fish or Back) River on March 26, 1820 to Franklin and Back but in the welter of papers in Back's journal; scant notice is made of the suggestion.[46]

Enroute to Canada, Back had opportunity to speak to Messers Smith and Charles whom Governor George Simpson had charged with investigating an Indian report on The Thlew-ee-choh. Charles reported that a Chief named Grand Jeune Homme, whose hunting grounds were around Great Slave

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[45] Ibid., p. 314.

[46] Franklin I, op. cit., p. 142.

Lake, reported:

> . . . that the Thlew-ee-choh was so full of rapids as to make it doubtful if boats, or indeed large canoes, could descend it; but that by pursuing a different course to a large river, called Teh-lon, such difficulties could be avoided; whilst the distance between the mouths of the two rivers was so trifling, that a smoke of a fire made at one was distinctly visible at the other.

Simpson and the fur traders paid great attention to Indian advice on geographical matters. Back goes on further to say:

> The chief had drawn a rough outline of the track, some part of which I recognized as being on the borders of Great Slave Lake . . . The waters . . . were described as abounding in fish and the country in animals; and, what was not less gratifying, the chief and some others were willing and desirous to accompany me.[47]

Back had learned from his two previous land expeditions that if one wished to travel in these lands, he must consult with the people that know. When he got to Salt River on the Slave, he had "le camarade de Mandeville" assemble the Indians to find a concensus in what they knew of the Thlew-ee-choh and the Thelon. Le Camarade presented Back with a sketch in which:

> . . . The Thlew-ee-choh and the Thelon were represented as maintaining a nearly parallel direction E.N.E. to the sea; whether in some of the deep inlets of Hudson's (sic) Bay, or, . . . more directly north, towards Point Turnagain, it was altogether beyond his knowledge to declare.[48]

Back continued on his way down the Slave River but he now had the advice of Black Meat, Grand Jeune Homme and Le Camarade de Mandeville. At Fort Resolution, Back got still more advice. La Prise, who had also

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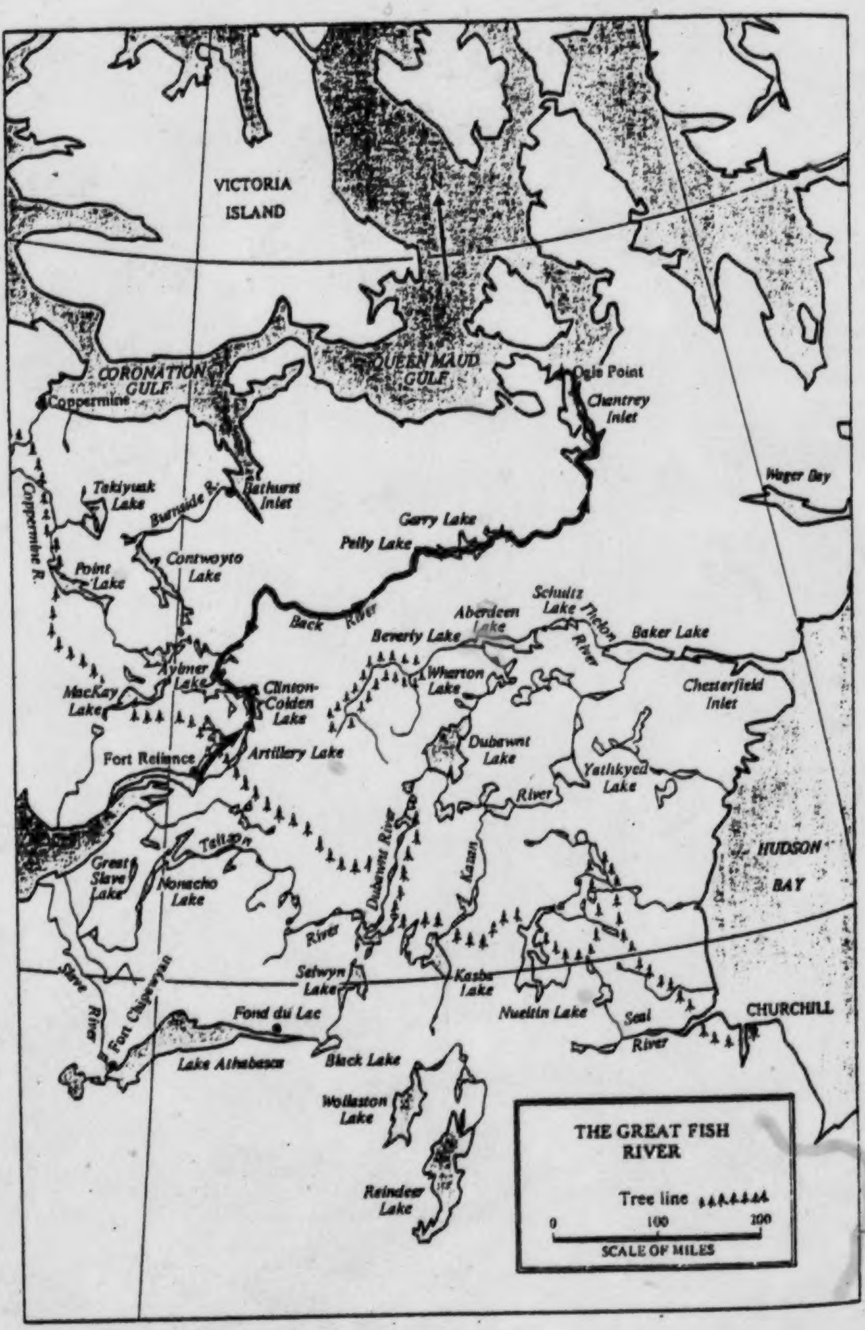
[47] George Back, Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River, and Along the Shores of the Arctic Ocean, in the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835 (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1970), p. 59.

[48] Ibid., p. 80.


VICTORIA ISLAND
N
CORONATION GULF
QUEEN MAUD GULF
Coppermine
Ogle Point
Chantrey Inlet
Wager Bay
Takiyuak Lake
Bathurst Inlet
Burnside R.
Coppermine R.
Garry Lake
Pelly Lake
Contwoyto Lake
Point Lake
Back River
Schultz Lake
Aberdeen Lake
Thelon River
Beverly Lake
Baker Lake
Aylmer Lake
Wharton Lake
MacKay Lake
Clinton-Colden Lake
Chesterfield Inlet
Fort Reliance
Artillery Lake
Dubawnt Lake
Yathkyed Lake
River
Kazan
Dubawnt River
Taltson
Great Slave Lake
Nonacho Lake
HUDSON BAY
River
Selwyn Lake
Kasba Lake
Nueltin Lake
Seal River
CHURCHILL
Slave River
Fort Chipewyan
Fond du Lac
Lake Athabasca
Black Lake
Wollaston Lake
Reindeer Lake
THE GREAT FISH RIVER
Tree line
0
100
200
SCALE OF MILES

Map 19. Where Akaitcho and Augustus Wandered

From: Farley Mowat, Tundra (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 194.

been "cathechized" by Franklin, knew how the compass worked, and gave certain directions. A young hunter, who had just come from the eastern end of Great Slave Lake, drew a map for Back and demonstrated that by using the route the hunter proposed, Back would have water communication all the way from Great Slave Lake to the Thlew-ee-choh.[49] The Indians were agreed that the Thelon was the best route. They chorused:

> It is true that our fathers did go down the Thlew-ee-choh, when they made war on the Esquimaux, a long time ago; but few returned and who is there now to tell of what they did, and what befell them? No one; - they are in the land of spirits, and our old men only remember their names.[50]

The Indians described the Thlew-ee-choh as dangerous. Today, it is known that the Thlew-ee-choh has eighty-three series of falls or rapids and that it was and is very dangerous, so there was a point in the Indian arguments.

Back's journey is marked on Map 19.

Back's party proceeded to the east end of Great Slave Lake and to the newly constructed Fort Reliance where he was to winter.[51] The Indians had great difficulty in the autumn because game was scarce. Akaitcho visited the fort on December 7 and promised to supply meat if he could acquire animals. One of Akaitcho's companions pointed out a lake where there was a known supply of fish.[52] According to Indian report, the years 1831 and 1832 had been bad years and forty Chipewyans had died of the famine. Back finally sent men to Akaitcho and the latter replied that the caribou had remained closer to the tree line. Meanwhile, a troop of starving people were gathered about the fort. Back comments on the "apathy so strikingly characteristic of the inert and callous savage, to whom life itself is a thing scarce worth preserving."[53]

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[49] Ibid., p. 85.

[50] Ibid., p. 86.

[51] Ibid., p. 139.

[52] Ibid., p. 208.

Akaitcho and his men remained at the tree line in order to be near the line of march of the caribou. Back had built his fort at Reliance because of geographical considerations and this fort was not positioned on the tree line. Here in stark relief are the two value orientations of Dene and European. Akaitcho so acted so that food would be available -- he remained at the tree line; Back acted out of interest so that he would be near to the spring line of march for the expedition. Akaitcho has food in mind; Back has the "progress of his expedition."

Back's prose describes the situation in January:

> The forest was no longer a shelter, nor the land a support; "famine, with her gaunt and bony arm," pursued them [the people] at every turn, withered their energies, and strewed them lifeless on the cold bosom of the snow.[54]

Back tells how Pepper, a Cree, whose family endured starvation in the bush, dealt with the situation. One by one, wife and then child by child were cannibalized until only one boy remained alive. "That the one boy was spared was owing, not to pity or affection, but to the accident of their having arrived at the Fort when they did. Another twenty-four hours would have sealed his doom also."[55] The Indians, outraged when they discovered what had happened, shot Pepper on the spot.

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[53] Ibid., pp. 218-19.

[54] Ibid., p. 225.

[55] Ibid., pp. 229-30.

The image of the savage as cannibal was deeply ingrained in the European mind. The myth started in the north with Frobisher. Because the Inuit very often ate their meat in rare condition or even raw, and ate all parts of the animal on occasion, the sensibilities of the Europeans were often offended and thus they were more susceptible to looking for cannibalism among the natives. Yet when the European was faced with starvation as in the case of Franklin's men, or those of Dr. Kane or Dr. Hayes, they were glad to eat materials not usually regarded as edible. The most sensible attitude is voiced by the Inuit themselves. Knud Rasmussen quotes an Inuit on cannibalism thus:

> But we who have endured such things ourselves, we do not judge others who have acted in this way though we may find it hard, when fed and content ourselves, to understand how they could do such things. But then again, how can one who is in good health and well fed, expect to understand the madness of starvation? We only know that every one of us has the same desire to live.[56]

So starvation was stalking this part of the area. But Akaitcho and his band of hunters hovered around Fort Reliance, periodically sending in meat when available. Back terms Akaitcho's conduct as exemplary, and quotes Akaitcho thus:

> It is true . . . that both the Yellow Knives and Chipewyans, whom I look upon as one nation, have felt the fatal severities of this unusual winter. Alas! how many sleep with our fathers! But the Great Chief trusts to us; and it is better that ten Indians should perish, than that one white man should suffer through our negligence and breech of faith.[57]

The image is thus of the Indian who is devoted to the white man and his expeditions. Since Back chose the incidents on which he reported, Back must further support this image.

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[56] Knud Rasmussen, Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), p. 224.

[57] Ibid., p. 232.

Akaitcho was too generous but there was a nobility, nonetheless and Back recognized it. This was hospitality at great cost. Whether the motivation be avarice for what the white man might provide or simply extra concern for the stranger or prejudiced humanity in favor of that stranger, certainly Akaitcho provided sustenance for this expedition. Whether he should have been more concerned for the welfare of his own people is a good question!

Maufelly, who had left the expedition earlier, arrived with five caribou and continued to bring in supplies of game at crucial times. Even old Camarade de Mandeville appeared at the door of the fort bearing two sledges of dried meat.[58]

As March wore on, the crisis over food began to alleviate, but news was brought that Augustus had been lost. As soon as Augustus had heard that Back was in the country at the head of an expedition, Augustus, with two Indians, had walked across the Barrens from Hudson Bay. As they neared Fort Resolution, a blizzard struck, and Augustus became separated from the other two. The Indians appeared in Fort Resolution; Augustus did not. On June 3, the intelligence had been brought in that the body of Augustus had been found near Rivière à Jean. Of Augustus, Back said:

> It appeared . . . that the gallant little fellow was retracing his steps to the establishment, when, either exhausted by suffering and privation, or caught in the midst of an open traverse . . . he had sunk to rise no more. Such was the miserable end of poor Augustus! - a faithful, disinterested, kind-

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[58] Ibid., p. 239.

> hearted creature, who had won the regard . . . by qualities, which, wherever found . . . are the ornament and charm of humanity.[59]

It is not merely charm or dedication for which Augustus could be remembered but service not only to two other expeditions but to the Hudson's Bay Company at George River and Fort Chimo as well. Back did not mention "utility and service" in his commendation.

One of the individuals whom Back sketched on the Thlwe-ee-choh was none other than Green Stockings, older now, but according to Back, still the "beauty of her tribe." It must have brought back memories of the Hood sketch of the same lady, and the duel which never came off between Hood and Back some fourteen years previously; yet, Back writes: "Akaitcho himself may, perhaps, be an exception: but in general, the motive, secret or avowed, of every action of a northern Indian is, in my judgment, selfishness alone."[60]

Later, as Back proceeded down river, he was led to exult:

> The Indian who, for hire, afforded us material help, were not more astonished at their own voluntary subjection to our service, than at the sight of a boat, manned with Europeans and stored with provisions of the southern country, floating on the clear waters of the barren lands.[61]

In the above Back statements, Back gives voice to his beliefs about certain individuals: Augustus, Greenstockings and Akaitcho and goes from there to describe the motivations of the northern Indians. Back is able to appreciate certain individuals to a degree, and prefers the Inuk to the Indian generally, but then he applies the sweeping generalization about the motivations of all northern Indians. To Back, the Indian is selfish and his services can be bought. Back does give credit to certain individuals but he fails to curb the temptation of laying wholesale perjorative generalizations on whole groups of people.

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[59] Ibid., p. 253.

[60] Ibid., pp. 302-303.

[61] Ibid., p. 387.

On July 4, McLeod and nine companions returned to southern points. Back, probably with memories of what happened at Fort Enterprise in mind, reminded McLeod of the need to supply Fort Reliance. At this very point of departure, someone else had the same memories. It was Akaitcho, who interviewed Back and said:

> I am afraid I shall never see you again . . . but should you escape from the great water, take care you are not caught by the winter, and thrown into a situation like that in which you were on your return from the Coppermine, for you are alone, and the Indians cannot help you.[62]

Akaitcho is not unmindful of what happened before. Akaitcho has obviously analyzed the situation and gives the above advice to Back. Akaitcho remembers the service given by the Indians to the Europeans and he knows of the European tendency to forget -- thus the reminder.

Back does not meet Akaitcho again but Akaitcho roams the Barrens for many more years. The image of Akaitcho's doings becomes blurred. Thomas Simpson speaks of Akaitcho thus in 1838:

> The present suspension arose from the recent death of Akaitcho, the old chief of that tribe, so honourably mentioned by Franklin and Back, and a reported declaration of his followers, that their grief and despair could only be consoled by making war upon their unoffending neighbours.[63]

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[62] Ibid., p. 313.

[63] Thomas Simpson, Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America: Effected by the Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company During the Years 1836-39 (Toronto: Canadiana House, 1970, p. 318.

Simpson may have heard of a report of Akaitcho's death but A. Stevenson and Mary Weekes contend that Akaitcho lived much longer. Stevenson remarks:

> Chief Akaitcho or Confidante as he was known, was still active in the 1870's and heading up a fur trade empire of his own. His runners went out to meet Indian trappers and Eskimoes who were beginning to venture south of the Arctic Ocean. He and members of his band came to Fort Rae to trade about once a year.[64]

The last view of Akaitcho that the surveyed literature provided was that claimed by W. Cornwallis King. King was born c1845 and died in 1940.[65] Mary Weekes, who interviewed King four years before his death, writes King's account of meeting with Akaitcho, thus:

> At this time we fell in with a party of Dog-Ribs, subject to Confidante. They were on their way to join the chief on his caribou hunt. Our average speed, travelling as we were, was twenty miles a day. Our general direction was east, but we were going from Fort Rae and the Coppermine River was almost due east. By the time we reached the hunting grounds of the Yellowknives, fifteen days later, we had come 250 miles from Rae.
>
> Confidante greeted me with respect and the right amount of cordiality. He had a tent pitched for my comfort. He commanded his people to attend me. We met as equals. It was seldom that Chief Akaitcho was called anything but Chief Confidante. This was the name given him by Franklin.
>
> The old chief was now nearing ninety. He had with him five of his thirty wives; the oldest eighty years, the youngest thirty. Both he and his old wife were travelling in state, as passengers. No English King ever received greater hommage from his people. Special carriers attended him and his wife and their baggage. Haste must be made to That Mar, the crossing place of the caribou, he said, as it was close to the date of their arrival.
>
> . . . Before leaving That Mar, I traded the remaining stock of goods with Chief Confidante's oldest son. In return, he agreed to bring furs to the fort when convenient. And so I bade good-bye to the old chief. He was sere as a yellow leaf. I left him to the warmth of his blankets.[66]

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[64] A. Stevenson, "The N.W.T.: The First Decade," Beaver, 38 (December, 1970), p. 43.

[65] Cooke, op. cit., p. 401.

[66] Mary Weekes, Trader King (Regina: School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co., 1947), pp. 127-28.

If Mary Weekes' account of King is factual, and she claims King met Akaitcho in August of 1868, then the report that Simpson gave is in error. Akaitcho's end, like that of Awgeenah, is not known. If Weekes is correct, then Akaitcho had been chief of the Yellowknives for at least forty-eight years and during a very crucial time. His Yellowknives were at the very zenith of their power when Franklin first met the Chief in 1820. At the end of Akaitcho's chieftanship, his people were in decline. Slave and Dogrib, whom he had once derided, had come into their own. Akaitcho had met his match in the Dogrib Chief Edzo.

Longevity alone would make Akaitcho a unique personality, but longevity, in a land fraught with the perils that Akaitcho and his people had to face, makes his endurance truly remarkable.

After passing Lakes Pelly and Garry and a dizzying succession of rapids and falls, the Back party came upon a small party of Inuit. The Inuit were cautious but they warmed on acquaintance. Back lamented:

> Had it been the will of Providence that Poor Augustus should have been with me, this and numerous other uncertainties would definitely have been set at rest; but where there is no common language for the interchange of ideas, all conclusions must be uncertain.[67]

Still the Inuit drew a map for Back and indicated the Tarreoke (Arctic Ocean) was nearby. Back had read the journals of Parry. The Inuit of Igloolik and Repulse Bay had called this sea the Akkoolee. The Inuit also aided the Back party to portage the boat, a feat which the Back party could not have done alone.

Back visited Montreal Island which was to be the scene visited quite often in years to come. He dispatched McKay, Sinclair and Taylor on August 5 to survey the nature of the coast to the west and others were sent on hunting expeditions. Both parties' actions have consequences for the future. The hunting party fired on the Utkuhilhalingmiut and did not report the fact to Back. This was reported by King years later and the shots were to have consequences for later actions on the part of that people as the Journals of James Anderson, Frederick Schwatka and Knud Rasmussen will indicate.[68]

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[67] Back, op. cit., p. 387.

Back had clear evidence of a channel coming from the east but he was baffled and unable to investigate the land to the westward. In fact, the land around the mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh was designated as King William IV Land and thus it remained until King William's Island became known. If Augustus had been present or an interpreter available, Back could have established the fact that King William's Land was King William's Island and averted what became the Franklin tragedy and the succeeding greatest of all Arctic searches.

According to Back, Akaitcho was at the zenith of his power during the times of the Franklin expeditions of 1819-27. His followers had pillaged the Dogrib and the Slave. Says Back:

> At last, after submitting to every scourge that the ingenuity of barbarism could inflict - after beholding their wives and daughters torn from their lodges, and their young men branded with the badge of slavery, they were suddenly animated with a spirit of revenge; and, in one season, partly by treachery and partly by valour, annihilated the boasted ascendency of their tyrants. From this contest, dates the downfall of the Yellowknives: their well known chiefs, and the flower of their youth -- all who had strength or ability were massacred; and the wretched remnant were driven from the rich hunting grounds about the Yellow Knife River to the comparatively barren hills bordering on Great Slave Lake.[69]

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[68] Richard King, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Arctic Ocean (London, 1836), pp. 27-28, 68-71.

[69] Ibid., p. 457.

Back gives full vent to his barbarism charge against the Yellowknives. Even the victors have "treachery" charged against them. Back applied to the Indians such terms as inert, callous, selfishly motivated and tending toward cannibalism. While Back seemed unable to give an Indian group credit, he did praise Augustus and Akaitcho or at least while they were giving service to him.

Back did consult native informants and lamented the lack of an interpreter. He gave a picture of how famine at times could haunt the land but he failed to think of the reason for the famine -- he and the fur traders had enticed a number of the Dene into an area destitute of caribou. Further, Back painted the picture of an Akaitcho and Augustus who were devoted to the service of the whiteman.

Later authors pointed out that Back did not define King William Land as an island nor did he realize that his men fired on the Utkuhilhalingmiut or Inuit at the mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh River. Both of the above facts would have bearing on the Franklin tragedy.

(40) Ooligbuck, The Greatest Arctic Traveller of Them All: Expedition of Thomas Simpson and Peter Warren Dease, 1837-39

Certain portions of the Arctic coast were still unknown to cartographers and Thomas Simpson and Peter Warren Dease, sponsored by the Hudson's Bay Company, began attempts in 1837 to chart these unknown coasts. The first portion between Return Reef and Point Barrow, Alaska, had not been surveyed nor had the second larger segment from Turnagain Point to Fury and Hecla Strait.

Thomas Simpson was related to Sir George Simpson, the "Little Emperor" or Governor from 1821 to 1860. Thomas was well educated, having received his Masters of Arts from King's College in Aberdeen. He followed in the tradition of Alexander Mackenzie and Robert Hood who produced progeny in Canada with native women and who would not or could not stay around to raise them. Thomas, in a letter, asks that a woman at a fur trade post be paid three pounds to take care of "my little chaps," and regrets that he cannot give more than to "give the boys only the absolute necessaries."[70] Yet Simpson could write that the "uncontrollable passions of the Indian blood inflames them to terrible violence. While they lose the haughty independence of savage life, they acquire at once all the bad qualities of the white man."

Simpson had a few bad qualities himself. He became involved in a brawl at Red River with some Metis and only George Simpson could and did rescue him. His life ended under mysterious circumstances when he was returning east after his northern expeditions.

The party started out from base, Fort Chipewyan, on June 1, 1837. Below the entry point of the Mackenzie into Great Slave Lake, the Dogrib came to "welcome us ashore, their animated gestures and sparkling eyes testifying the pleasure they derived from the meeting."[71] Simpson thought the Dogrib to be much more polite than the "sullen indifference of the Chipewyan."[72]

Further down the Mackenzie, the party met the Hare who were fishing at the time of the encounter and who then followed like a "pygmy fleet" to Fort Good Hope. Here, the party found five Kutchin who gave the news that three of their tribe had been killed and another desperately wounded in another encounter with the Inuit. Simpson told how the Kutchin had charged the Inuit with killing a Kutchin man. The Inuit had paid the "blood money" and this payment had been made over a number of years. At one meeting, the "dead" man appeared and the Inuit became outraged at the deception and wreaked their revenge.[73]

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[70] Rasky, op. cit., Vol II, p. 134.

[71] Simpson, op. cit., p. 92.

[72] Ibid., p. 101.

Further north, the party visited more Kutchin and the greeting was so warm that when the canoe began to land on the shore, the people rushed forward with logs of wood so the voyagers would not get their feet wet. The Kutchin supplied the expedition with as much fish as the party chose to take on board.

Then came the inevitable encounter with the Inuit at the mouth of the Mackenzie. As in Franklin's time, these people gave noisy, boisterous welcome, accompanied by what Simpson termed pilfering. Finally, Simpson had to fire over the heads of the people to make them desist.

Past Shingle Point and at Camden Bay, another Inuit group appeared. Simpson had no Inuit interpreters and had to rely on printed vocabularies. Even with Simpson's bad pronunciation, the Inuit were impressed by the fact that "the books spoke to us." The Inuit did some dancing for the visitors and the visitors replied with a highland fling. From Boat Extreme, Simpson chose five men, including none of the Metis, to continue along the coast.

On Point Barrow, their destination, they found a huge cemetery. The crew of the Blossom's barge of Beechey had deemed it unwise to land at Barrow but Simpson found the natives to be ready to trade. Here, Simpson performed the ritual of having the Union Jack planted and the old flag bearer chosen was nicknamed Malette. Malette, in keeping with the celebration, carried a slab of meat, from which he cut slices for all and sundry. Simpson learned from Malette that his people traded indirectly with the Russians. With this expedition, the coast from Barrow to Point Turnagain had been charted continuously.[74]

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[73] Ibid., p. 101.

Dease and Simpson spent the winter of 1837-38 at Fort Confidence on Dease Arm of Great Bear Lake. Simpson indicated that the Dogrib and Hare displayed pleasure to have the crews among them. Many of the Indians suffered from influenza and Simpson proclaimed:

> We enjoy, indeed, the proud reflection that our expedition, so far from inflicting either famine or disease upon the natives, has, by the blessing of Heaven, been the immediate means of preventing or alleviating these calamaties.[75]

Northeast of Dease Arm lie the Dismal Lakes which Simpson crossed in winter and he used every adjective in his vocabulary to describe the desolate, dreary, forlorn, forbidding, blasted and barren countryside. Vilhalmur Stefansson says that this is an example of how the frame of reference of the viewer determines what he sees. Simpson had been brought up among the hedges and woods of England. He came almost directly from England; he could see no beauty so he called the place "dismal." Half a century later, David Hanbury, who had previously been a rancher in Wyoming, calls the Dismal Lakes a wilderness paradise.

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[74] Ibid., p. 200.

[75] Ibid., p. 204.

Stefansson agrees with Hanbury's description.[76]

Simpson took two Hare with him to the Coppermine coast. Both were Fort Good Hope people and were named Larocque and Maccaconce or nicknamed Anglice and Little Keg. Simpson says they "proved in the sequel no contemptible auxilliaries."[77]

During the winter, Simpson had occasion to learn more of the Yellowknives, Hare and Dogrib history. On October 20, 1838, two young Dogrib girls are reported killed in the direction of Coppermine. Of course, the Dogrib blamed the Inuit. Dogrib and Hare had long groaned under the oppression of the Yellowknives, who termed the former as slaves and robbed them of their goods and women. In 1823 the Dogrib had turned on the Yellowknives and such people as the Hook and Long Legs had been killed. No Copper Indians visited Simpson in Fort Confidence. But finally the blame for the death of the two girls was attached to one individual, Edahadelly. The latter confessed to murder so he had to wear certain marks on his wrists and neck which marked him as murderer. This caused a great deal of difficulty for Simpson because the people tended to avoid the fort. Sinclair, Little Keg and Anglice, therefore, had the burden of supplying the fort with meat.

The next year, Ooligbuck joined the company. Since he could communicate with the Inuit, much more information became available.

The third expedition set out from Fort Confidence on June 15, 1838 and followed the Coppermine to its mouth. Ooligbuck and Simpson went on to investigate the Richardson River. They came upon some Inuit. This time, Ooligbuck was sent forward alone and Ooligbuck brought the "trembling Esquimaux" back to camp. One of the three Inuit was an elderly man by the name of Awallook. Awallook told Ooligbuck that he knew Inuit to the west that wore labrets, that he had never been to Great Bear Lake, that none of his people had been killed by Indians but his father had told him of the Bloody Falls incident. Ooligbuck spent the night with the Inuit and then the whole company returned the next day. Larocque or Little Keg gave a demonstration of Hare dance and an old Inuit, The Dancer, gave an exhibition of the Inuit form. Said Simpson of the peaceable intermingling of Dene and Inuit:

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[76] Stefansson, The Friendly Arctic, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

[77] Simpson, op. cit., p. 254.

> Maccaconce was never so proud in his life as when the young Esquimaux consented to sleep side by side with him in the same tent. My own Indian companion, Larocque, had already made strict friendship with old Awallook's son; and thus, as far as lay in our power, was the company's desire of promoting peace and amity between the rival races accomplished.[78]

Boats were utilized to cover the remaining coast to Montreal Island and the mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh.

Simpson filled in the major geographical gaps not travelled by Franklin. He used pemmican as the Arctic ration and demonstrated to later travellers the imperative of living off the land as did the Inuit and utilizing snowshoes as did the Dene. Little Keg, Anglice, Sinclair, and Ooligbuck were his acknowledged teachers and providers.

But L. H. Neatby considered that Simpson contributed to a legend which was to contribute to a calamity:

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[78] Ibid., p. 491.

> He [Simpson] concurred in James Ross's belief that to the north of Castor and Pollux River a neck of land united Boothia with King William Land. James Ross had stretched a mythical barrier across the channel east of King William Land; Back, by loitering in the Fish River estuary, had missed the chance of correcting this mistake; now Simpson had helped to confirm it.[79]

Simpson had the best opportunity because he had the incomparable interpreter Ooligbuck and could have found out the information from the natives if he had sought them out. Back had no interpreter. James Ross had Inuit allies but no interpreter. This lack of interpreter by different expeditions in years to come would cause all kinds of difficulty. The European "explorers" refused to admit that the Inuit and Dene knew what the Europeans did not. It was a simple matter of asking but it required an interpreter.

(43) Ooligbuck and Son: Hudson's Bay Company Exploring Expedition: John Rae, 1846-47

Captains Parry and Lyon had visited the Fury and Hecla Straits during their 1821-23 sea excursion. The coast from these straits to Simpson's farthest or Pollux Bay remained uncharted. George Simpson ordered Dr. John Rae and twelve companions to complete that survey in 1846.

Rae chose Ooligbuck to act as interpreter along with Ooligbuck's son, William. Nepitabo served as hunter.

Rae travelled in two small boats from York Factory to Repulse Bay at the base of the Melville Peninsula. Rae found that he could reach the Akkoolee or sea to the west by crossing Melville Peninsula.[80]

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[79] L. H. Neatby, The Search for Franklin (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, Ltd., 1970), p. 90.

Rae actively sought information from the natives and made sure that he had the means by which he could get reliable information. To date, Ooligbuck was the most travelled man along the Arctic coast. He had been from the Mackenzie to the mouth of the Coppermine River with the Richardson party in 1826 and from Coppermine to Pollux Bay with Simpson in 1837. Now his son, William, was deliberately groomed to succeed Ooligbuck. Orders were given to other members of the crew to speak only English to the lad so that he would become more proficient in that tongue.[81] The group never considered learning Inuktitut.

In July and August, 1846, the party travelled from Repulse Bay through lakes such as Christie and finally reached the Akkoolee or what is now known as Committee Bay. At the base of the bay, Rae had Ooligbuck question an elderly woman named Re-lu-ak. Rae continues:

> From the chart drawn by the woman, who, as is usual, (at least among the Esquimaux) was much the more intelligent of the two, I was led to infer that there was no opening leading into the large bay but through the Strait of the Fury and Hecla, and Prince Regent's Inlet.[82]

After the return from Committee Bay, Rae built a stone house at Fort Hope in order to winter there. In preparation for the next year's journey, Rae purchased dogs and adapted his sledge to Inuit standards.

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[80] Dr. John Rae, Narrative of an Expedition to the Shores of the Arctic Ocean (London, 1850), p. 36.

[81] E. E. Rich, John Rae's Correspondence with the Hudson's Bay Company on Arctic Exploration 1844-1855. Edited by E. E. Rich, assisted by A. M. Johnson, with an introduction by J. M. Wordie and R. J. Cyriax (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1953), p. 373.

[82] Ibid., p. 49.

Rae learned how to decoy snow owls by imitating a lemming with a piece of fur pulled through the snow. He adopted Inuit mode of dress. Rae was taught how to construct the Inuit snowshoes and how to ice his sled runners for Arctic travel. He noted that it was wise to travel lightly. He found he could travel an average of sixteen miles per day with a party of picked men, eight dogs and two small sleds. When oil ran out, he utilized the *Androneda tetragona* -- an "interesting and beautiful herb in the eye of a botanist, but giving no promise to the ordinary observer that it could supply warmth to a large party during a long Arctic night."[83]

And who were the teachers of the man who became the premier instructor of the "great Arctic discoverers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries?"

First, Nabitabo, who was "one of the keenest sportsmen" that Rae had ever met; then, Ooligbuck and son William; lastly, there was Ivitchuk (meaning walrus) who taught Rae "to appreciate the gourmet qualities of blubber and caribou blood -- and in turn acquired a taste for *Kabloona* tea and chocolate."[84]

Typically, Ooligbuck spent a week away from Fort Hope in the coldest part of the winter in an attempt to get food. He dropped in on the Christie Lake Inuit, upbraided them for not supplying promised oil and convinced them to redeem their promises and then returned home, much to the astonishment of Rae who had given the traveller up for lost.

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[83] Neatby, op. cit., p. 113.

[84] Rasky II, op. cit., p. 104.

And a further demonstration of the ingenuity of Ooligbuck was the destruction of a wolf which had been raiding the larder and attacking the dogs. The usual Inuit method was to attach a line from bait to loaded gun. The wolf seized the bait, the line agitated the trigger, and the wolf was wounded. It was then easy to track the trail of blood. But, early in February, Ooligbuck improved on the strategy. He placed the gun in a small snow hut with bait only a foot from the gun muzzle. The wounded wolf dragged itself to a dog kennel. Ooligbuck pulled the wolf out by the tail, swung it around is head, and Rae administered the coup de grâce.

Akkeeoulit of Christie Lake told Rae of how he had acquired a mast head or bowsprit "stick" of either the Fury of Lyon or the Victory of Ross. The Inuit told of Oobluria, Ikmallik and others mentioned by Ross.[85] They told of Tulluahiu, who had recently died, and how Ross had supplied this man, while still living, with a wooden leg. Rae became convinced of the value of the oral tradition because the Inuit recounted to him in detail what had happened when ships such as those of Parry, Lyon and Ross visited. This listening and talking to people was to serve Rae in good stead when later involved in the "search" for Franklin.

Images Portrayed by the Authors of Journals

Akaitcho played a leading role in three of the expeditions. He was mentioned in the Simpson expedition while the expedition of Rae was in another part of the country where Akaitcho was not involved. Akaitcho, like Franklin, put the best face on a situation. Akaitcho pleaded poverty when it suited him. He was a hard bargainer and realized that his position of chief demanded that he get as much goods as he could from Franklin. Akaitcho's brother and associate chiefs quarrelled openly about the gifts, demonstrating a different system of arriving at a decision than did Franklin's men. Shortly after meeting Franklin, Akaitcho recognized the weaknesses of the Franklin plan and mode of travel. He argued vehemently but Franklin became more obstinate. The Yellowknives suggested the sites for forts, the line of travel and the timing of the journey. Franklin accepted most but not all of Akaitcho's advice and this latter non-acceptance got the Franklin party into difficulty. Franklin noted how he warned Akaitcho for the need of provisions. To Franklin, a promise was an absolute thing; to Akaitcho, a promise depended upon whether the circumstances permitted. Thus Franklin portrayed Akaitcho as a vain, greedy, obstinate authority figure who did not keep his promise. Events proved, however, why Akaitcho acted as he did. His authority rested on a different basis than did Franklin's. Akaitcho had to maintain his prestige in a different way than did Franklin -- by hard bargaining. Akaitcho had to arrive at decisions in a different way -- he had to gain concensus and finally Akaitcho had a different concept of a promise than did Franklin.

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[85] Rae, op. cit., p. 408.

Franklin, in his first speech to Akaitcho, reached out for broad generalizations whereas Akaitcho quickly reached his point which was issues of travelling in the country. Franklin demonstrated his ability to think in the abstract whereas Akaitcho dealt in concrete, practical matters. It was the abstract versus the concrete.

Akaitcho had good qualities according to Franklin. Akaitcho was generous, did go out of his way to serve the white men, and was forgiving.

Akaitcho, in effect, rescued the remnants of the first expedition and then, with solicitude, nursed them back to health and for this Franklin expressed his gratitude.

There are two portraits given by Franklin of Akaitcho. One is the depiction by Franklin's words and the other dictated by the events that occurred. Akaitcho epitomized the images of his own people, and Franklin illustrated the qualities of the English. The circumstances of the first Franklin expedition presaged that of the third. The personae of the first expedition in Black Meat, Rabbit Head, Beaulieu, Keskarrah, Greenstockings, the Hook, Annoethai-Yazzeh and Long Legs all augment the corrected image of Akaitcho who well exemplified the characteristics of the Yellowknives of that era.

Augustus, the Inuk interpreter, served Franklin on the first expedition but since few Inuit were encountered, he did not come into prominence until the second expedition. Augustus served to introduce Franklin to the Mackenzie Inuit, warned Franklin of dangers, reproached the overenthusiastic Inuit when he considered it necessary and generally acted as peace maker.

In like manner, Ooligbuck served the Richardson section of the second Franklin expedition. Franklin, Richardson and Back had nothing but praise for both Augustus and Ooligbuck. An appraisal of the events, however, demonstrates that Augustus travelled from the Keewatin, to Quebec, to Coppermine, the mouth of the Mackenzie River and to Return Reef, a quarter of a century before McClure made the trip through one of the Northwest Passages.

Ooligbuck travelled from the Mackenzie to the Coppermine in the Second Franklin expedition, from the Coppermine to the base of Boothia

Peninsula with Simpson and taught Rae survival tactics at Repulse Bay. The only part of the Canadian Arctic coast along which Ooligbuck had not travelled was the base of Boothia Peninsula and son William would accomplish that.

The image of the Dene and Inuit changed significantly from past chapters. Augustus was observed over a nine year period, and Ooligbuck over a twenty year period. Akaitcho was chief in 1820 and he had remained so for over fifty years. The native individuals are thus known over a longer period of time and different authors described their roles. The information gained by the authors has a more authentic ring because of the services of able interpreters. The portraits of individual Dene and Inuit, at least those of Ooligbuck, Augustus and Akaitcho, are much easier to conceptualize.

Akaitcho, by turns, was described as greedy, benevolent, vain, grandstanding, tender, an autocrat and yet a democrat. Back depicted all Chipewyans as driven by self-interest yet the overall image of Akaitcho was very positive. Back returned to the term "barbaric" to describe the Chipewyans generally. "Backward" and "Primitive" were terms widely used even by Richardson, and Simpson lamented about the "uncontrolled passion" and defects of the Metis.

Again, the authors seemed ready to give positive images of individuals who rendered service to expeditions but the positive contribution of the individual native did not reinforce the negative estimation that the journal writers had of the native people.

Frame of Reference of the Authors of the Journals

Three of the expeditions were headed and manned by British sailors; those of Rae and Simpson were made up of fur traders and Canadians. The Franklin and Back crews thrived on orderliness, organization of a hierarchical type and discipline. The less formally organized Dene and Inuit in these lights were rabble -- unorganized, undisciplined and uncivilized. Franklin had been forced into listening to Akaitcho in his first expedition because the fur traders looked on the sailors as clumsy intruders. George Simpson gave voice to this point of view. Franklin discovered inductively the wisdom of Akaitcho and the Yellowknives. Franklin depended on Augustus as a vehicle for the transmission for information from the Inuit. Richardson, in like manner, depended on Ooligbuck. Franklin got into difficulty when he did not take the advice of Akaitcho. The naval people did not understand land travel, much less Arctic land travel. They insisted on regular hours, three meals a day with frequent rests. They travelled English style in a country that had no English equivalent. They packed their provisions, used English-style clothing and transportation. In the first expedition Franklin was totally unprepared for overland travel. The second expedition served the sailor talents more because the great majority of travel was by boat. Back gloried in seeing an English small boat on the upper reaches of the Thlew-ee-choh River. By good fortune, Franklin expeditions had Akaitcho, Augustus and Ooligbuck to keep them out of trouble. Back was not so lucky in that he had no interpreters, stumbled to the mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh, failed to chart the environs of the mouth of that river, and unbeknown to Back, some of Back's men fired on the Inuit at the mouth of that river. These latter two events had disastrous effects -- not for the Back expedition but for ones to come.

The Simpson and Rae expeditions, sponsored as they were by the hard headed fur traders, made provision for interpreters. Both Simpson and Rae were land men and therefore they had some advantage over Back and Franklin. In addition, they had the experienced Ooligbuck and later William Ooligbuck. Rae recognized the need to learn survival techniques from the Inuit and spent time learning to build igloos and to hunt. Rae became the most skilled traveller of all the European oriented expedition leaders. He knew enough to acquire hunters and guides who knew the country. Simpson and Rae had the best academic qualifications of the leaders of expeditions. Rae kept to the facts and did not become embroiled in passing comments on the religion and practices of native people. Simpson had little feeling for native people; he generally despised them with a passion.

As far as the images of native peoples generally, there was almost national prejudice for the sailor and fur trade expedition personnel to prefer the Inuit over the Dene, an obsession with punctuality, expediency, self-interest, and the emotionalism of the native. The Europeans tended to see in others what was in their own mind. The military men saw good in organization, order, neatness, punctuality and keeping promises. The more esoteric geographers and travellers used the criterion of he that is good gets me to where I want to go. Where lasciviousness was sighted, then a careful examination finds the same fault in the author. Where expediency or self-interest was cited, lo it appeared in the author's own dealings.

The pre-Victorians tended to see themselves as benevolent fathers who served as the peacemakers among the troublesome, quarrelling children. They strongly believed that the Indian had an avowed respect for the white men. When the children of the taiga or tundra misbehaved, then lessons had to be taught them and often "might makes right" was reverted to. On occasion, expedition personnel deserted their principles and used expediency as a strategy though they were quick to label this quality in the natives.

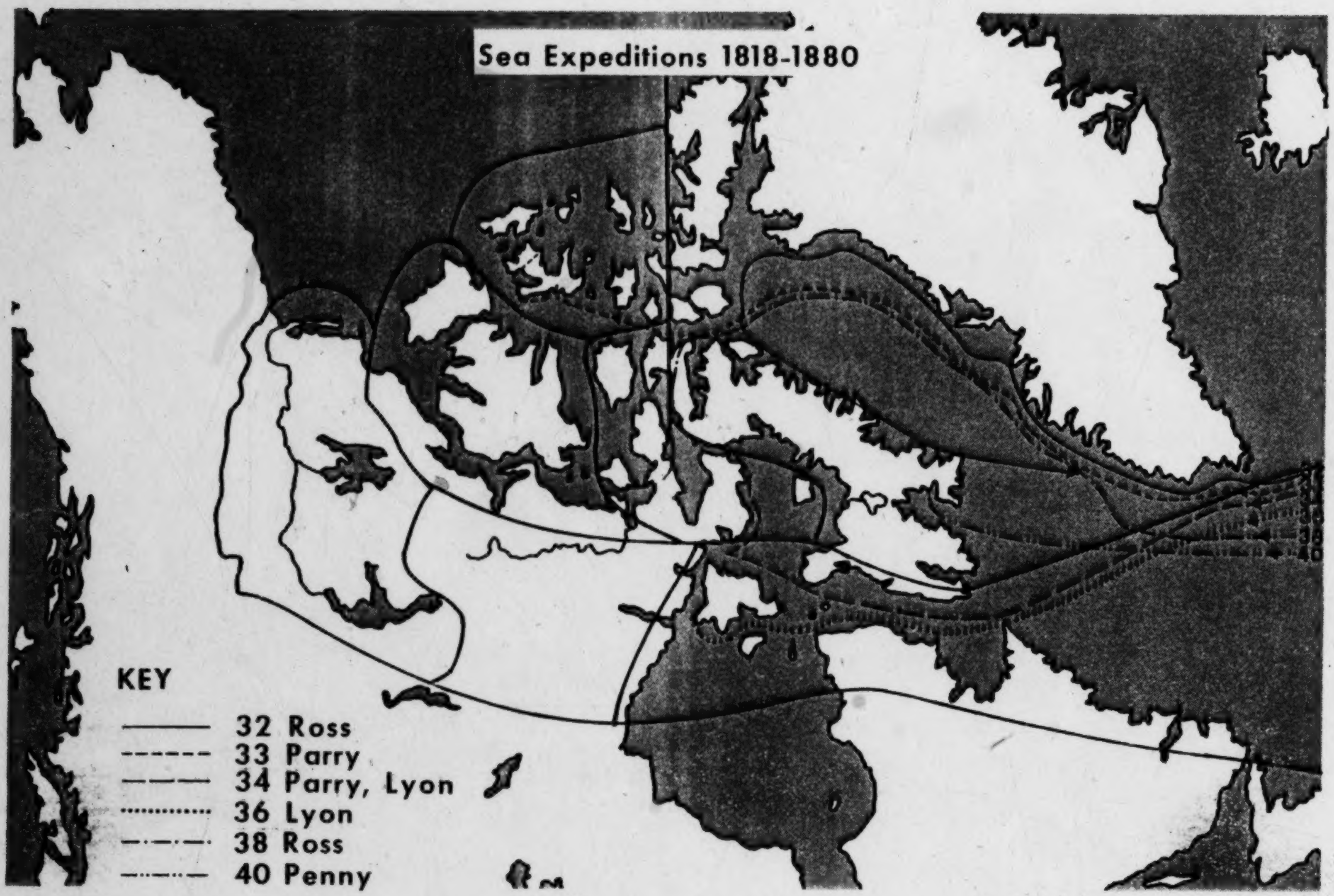
Relationships: Who Influenced Whom?

The naval land operations depended on the guides and hunters to get them where they wanted to go. The leaders took advice from the natives as to the site of wintering bases and routes of march. The natives provided the expeditions with provisions. The interpreters or guides lived with the English parties and in English fashion. There was no dependence on native groups as in the case of Stuart, Hearne or Mackenzie. Moreover, except where they wintered, there was no remaining in one spot for any length of time. Except to meet native people on a first contact basis, there was no sustained contact.

So, too, with the two fur trade expeditions, no sustained contacts were made except in the case of the wintering bases, Simpson on Great Bear Lake and Rae at Fort Hope.

Land travel, however, brought the voyagers into more sustained contact with native people. The images were much more realistically drawn, especially by Rae and Simpson.

As these first contacts continued being made, the line of fur trade posts become more extended. The process of congregating the natives about the posts, of getting more natives involved in the fur trade, of procurring more natives for fur trade employment and forcing natives to become more dependent on fur trade goods continued unabated.


Sea Expeditions 1818-1880
KEY
32 Ross
33 Parry
34 Parry, Lyon
36 Lyon
38 Ross
40 Penny
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CHAPTER 8

SAILOR AND WHALER (1818-1880)

At the same time that land journeys were occurring, the British Admiralty began to take an interest in Arctic waters and exploring the land by the sea approach. Not least among the reasons for Admiralty action was the whaling industry. The whale in Arctic waters was what the fur bearing animal was to Arctic land -- a valuable commodity with profitable potential. This chapter begins with the efforts of Sir John Ross in 1818. The whalers followed Ross. The chapter ends with the whalers heavily involved in Hudson Bay. As Dene were to the fur trade, so then were the Inuit related to the whale trade.

John Sackheuse, an Inuit interpreter, accompanied John Ross. Only Penny had an interpreter in Eenoolooapik of the other expeditions. The chapter ends with Inuit in the employ of the whalers in Hudson Bay or some Inuit holding contracts with whaling vessels.

(32) When Two Unknowns Meet: British Naval North-west Passage Expedition: John Ross, 1818

John Sackheuse [Hans Za Kaeus, John Sackhouse, Sacheuse], an Inuit, managed to board the whaling ship Thomas and Ann of Leith, Scotland, in May, 1816. An officer of the Alexander, one of Sir John Ross's ships, says that different reasons have been given for Sackheuse leaving Greenland. Says the officer:

Facing - Map 20. Sea Expeditions 1818-1880

> It has been said by some that he was picked up at sea in his canoe, having been blown off the coast of Greenland in a storm; but the reason he himself assigned was a disappointment he met with in a love affair; having by some means quarrelled with the mother of his intended spouse, he failed in obtaining her consent to a matrimonial union with her daughter. The chagrin occasioned by this disappointment affected him so much that he resolved to banish himself for ever from his native land, and in the height of his rage set off to sea in his canoe.[1]

Sackheuse returned to Leith and then made the voyage back to Greenland in 1817. He discovered that his only living relative had passed away and so he returned to Scotland again. Sackheuse came to the notice of an artist, a Mr. Nasymyth, who introduced him to Sir James Hall. Sackheuse took painting lessons during the winter and then Hall recommended Sackheuse to the Admiralty and the commander of an Arctic expedition to be sent out in 1818.

Sackheuse, fluent in Inuktitut, variably fluent in English and proficient in painting was attached to the Isabella and Alexander as interpreter. The two ships, under the command of John Ross, proceeded to Baffin Bay. South of the entry and on the Greenland side, Ross encountered a group of people who were unknown to the remainder of the world just as the rest of the world was unknown to them. Ross named them the "Arctic Highlanders." Sackheuse captured the atmosphere of the encounter in a sketch -- the first known Inuit interpreted characterization or portrayal of two peoples totally unknown to each other. Plate 4 is a copy of the sketch. Ross, in his journal, adds the dimension of sound to the sketch. It might have proceeded as follows:

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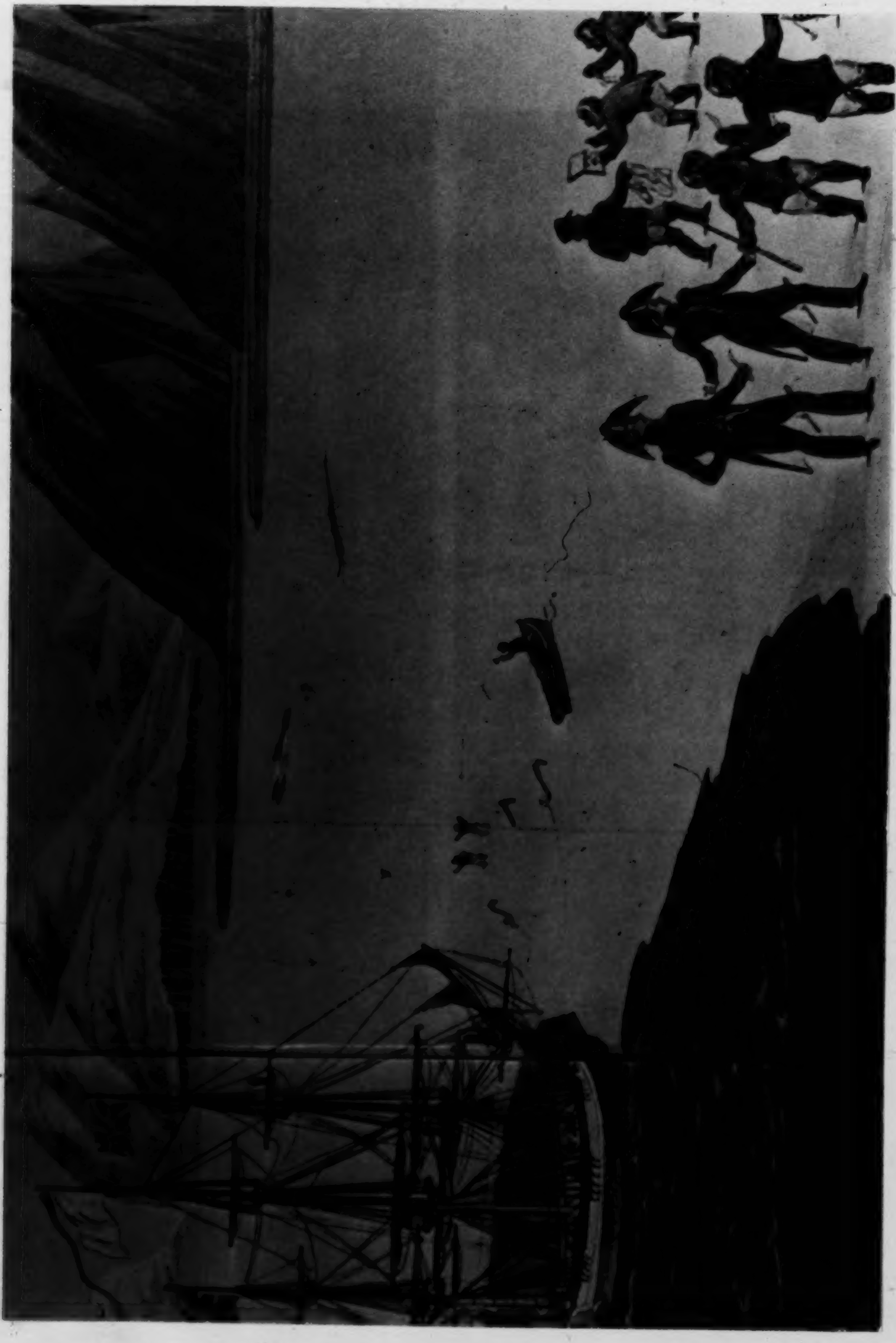
[1] Anonymous, Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions of H.M.S. Alexander (London: New Voyages and Travel, VI, #1-1820), p. 71.



COLOURED PAPER
PAPIER DE COULEUR

Facing - Plate 4. First Communication with the Natives of Prince Regents Bay, As Drawn by John Sackheuse and Presented to Captain Ross, 1818.

Credits: Erik Erngaard, Greenland, Then and Now (Copenhagen: Lademann, 1972), 92 and 93.

As in a chess game, one side calculated, moved, and then waited for the other side to respond. Ross planted a flag with a bag of gifts attached on an ice floe. The Inuit cautiously approached and viewed the deposit. Ross sent Sackheuse out onto the ice for parley. A canal of water separated the Inuit party and their dog teams from Sackheuse.

"Come on," Sackheuse yelled.

"No, no, go away," the Inuit responded.

"We will not harm you."

"No, no, go away. Don't kill us!"

Sackheuse threw a knife. The Inuit examined it. Closer came the Inuit. They called, "Heigh Yaw" and pulled their noses. Sackheuse imitated. Soon they were close enough so the many and the one could talk.

The Inuit asked about the ship, from whence these strangers came, and if the ships were living creatures. To all this, Sackheuse gave reasoned replies. Sackheuse returned to the ship for a plank to bridge the chasm and the Inuit approached the ships in fear and trepidation.

All this was too much for Ross and Parry. Out in their full naval regalia they went and the Inuit allowed them to join the party. Everyone pulled their noses and yelled "Heigh Yaw." The noise and clamour increased. Said Ross:

> The impression made by this ludicrous scene on Sacheuse was so strong, that some time after he made me a drawing of it, being the first specimen we had witnessed of his talent for historical composition . . .[2]

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[2] John Ross, A Voyage of Discovery, Made Under the Orders of the Admiralty, in His Majesty's Ships Isabella and Alexander, for the Purpose of Explaining Baffin's Bay, and Inquiring Into the Probability of a North-west Passage (London: John Murray, 1819), p. 87.

The image that Ross wished to portray is the ridiculous Inuit but somehow they do not seem ridiculous. They forthrightly showed their astonishment at what was apparent, just as Ross had done throughout his journal. The Inuit were wide-eyed at what they saw; the Englishmen were blissfully ignorant of the consequences their own ignorance could have.

Barter began. Ross invited the Inuit to the ship and mounted his sled to be drawn by three sailors. The Inuit uproariously laughed at the sight of a man being drawn by men -- not by dogs. The Inuit saw that the ships were really houses. They examined each object carefully. A sailor going aloft held their attention. They detested the terrier and shrank in terror from the pig. The magnifying glass, the watch and the skylight to them were wonders. Three men were invited to the cabin and they knew not what to do with the chairs nor could they understand the reality of so much wood. Violins, flutes, biscuits, and salt meat were provided for Ervick, Marshuick, and Ootoniah while they were sketched. A photostat of the sketches is provided in Plate 5.

The party of Inuit left. The ships moved because of an approaching storm. Several days elapsed and then Act II of the meeting opened. Ross had the opportunity to view the mysteries of dog sledding, bought a dog and a 'unicorn' horn. Later, the Inuit visited the ship. Several of them attempted to take items and finally Ross felt it necessary, when he could not get more information, to exclude what he considered the 'undisciplined rabble' from his ships.

Ross went from the "Arctic Highlanders" to chart Smith, Jones and Lancaster Sounds. He mistakingly believed that the Crocker Mountains lay fifty miles inside and across Lancaster Sound. Dramatic as the above

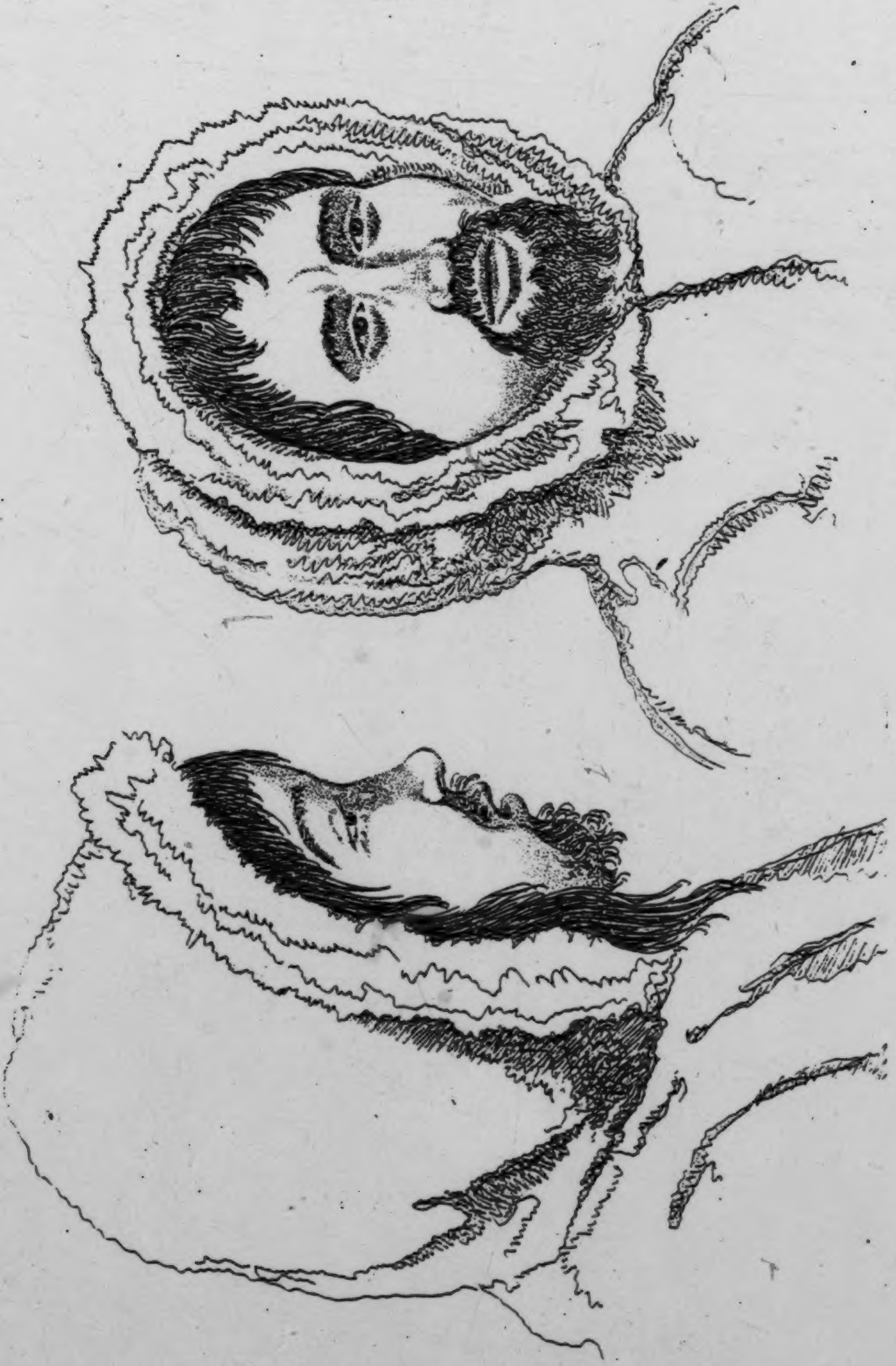

Plate 5. Ross' Inuit Visitors

Credits: John Ross, A Voyage of Discovery, Made Under the Orders of the Admiralty, in His Majesty's Ships Isabella, and Alexander, for the Purpose of Exploring Baffins Bay, and Inquiring Into the Probability of a North-West Passage (London: John Murray, 1819).

geographical markings were for European charts, few incidents in Arctic history can match this meeting between the Arctic Highlanders and John Ross, all documented by the sketch of John Sackheuse. Ross portrayed the suspicion, the gained confidence, the mutual exchange and then the estrangement after the Inuit became irritated with the Admiralty officers.

(33) Many Avenues But Few People: British North-west Passage Expedition: Edward Parry, 1819-20

Edward Parry had not agreed with John Ross as to the existence of the Crocker Mountains in Lancaster Sound. The Admiralty sent Parry to investigate. In a remarkable dash, Parry sailed through Lancaster Sound, Barrow Straits, Viscount Melville Sound and wintered on Melville Island. Parry found evidence of former occupants of Melville Island and managed to cross the north-south width of the island. He commented that the west side of the island was "one of the pleasantest and most habitable spots [they had seen] in the Arctic."[3]

On the return to England, Parry stopped to survey Bylot Island and there he encountered the Inuit. Again the Inuit showed pleasure at receiving the Englishmen. Parry commented that "they were much better behaved than the Esquimaux who visited our ships in 1818 on the north-eastern coast of Baffin Bay."[4] Parry also noted the mimicry, inquisitiveness, dislike of English food and rum, and their "canoes." Parry was able to do what Ross could not -- visit the homes of the Inuit. Here, the Englishmen saw more trade items for which they would barter. In so doing, Parry felt his disadvantage in not having Sackheuse, and wrote:

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[3] William Edward Parry, Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; Performed in the years 1819-20, in His Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper . . . With an Appendix Containing the Scientific and Other Observations (London: John Murray, 1821).

[4] William Edward Parry, Journals of the First, Second and Third Voyages for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific in 1819-20-21-22-23-24-25 in His Majesty's Ships Hecla, Griper and Fury Under the Orders of Captain W. E. Parry, R.N.F.R.S. and Commander of the Expedition (London: John Murray, 1828, Vol. iii), p. 277.

> One of these [people] . . . bore a striking resemblance to our poor friend John Sackheuse, well known as the Esquimaux who accompanied the former expedition, the want to whose services we particularly felt on this occasion, and whose premature death had been sincerely lamented by all who knew him, as an intelligent and amiable man, and a valuable member of society.[5]

Indeed, Admiralty officers had stumbled upon a useful agent in communications -- the interpreter. But it was one thing for the man on the spot to say this and another for Admiralty planners to utilize the agent.

Parry's general comment on these Igloolik Inuit, based near Navy Board Inlet, was:

> Upon the whole, these people may be considered in possession of every necessary of life, as well as most of the comforts and conveniences which can be enjoyed in so rude a state of society . . . there was a respectful decency in their general behaviour, which at once struck us as very different from that of other untutored Esquimaux, and in their persons there was less of that intolerable filth by which these people are so generally distinguished. But the superiority for which they are most remarkable is, the perfect honesty which characterized all their dealings with us.[6]

Parry would have perhaps understood how people became 'intolerably filthy' had be been able to see the scene taking place at Fort Enterprise to the south. There, Franklin and company were in bad state after their return from the Coppermine. But Parry underlined the primitiveness, the relatively less rowdy atmosphere and the honesty of the Inuit whom he had met for but a few hours. Even at that, the image seemed not as tarnished as others who had described the living conditions of the Inuit.

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[5] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 282.

[6] Ibid., p. 287.

(34) From Disdain to Attachment: British North-west Passage Expedition: William Parry and George F. Lyon, 1821-23

Some expeditions concentrated on geographic 'discoveries;' others by force of circumstance came face to face with the Inuit. The 1821-23 expedition, commanded by William Parry and George Lyon, seemed to accidentally concentrate on people. Unfortunately, again, there was no interpreter aboard the ships. A successor for Sackheuse had not been found. Still Parry, Lyon and Francis Crozier learned enough of the language to gain important information from the Inuit.

Parry was convinced that if a Northwest Passage existed it must be situated between Hudson Bay proper and Baffin Island. The planners for this expedition, therefore, determined to send Fury and Hecla through Hudson Strait and north of Southampton Island. The ships spent the winter of 1821-22 at Winter Island, just above Lyon Inlet. By February 1, 1822, the first Inuit visited the ships. Lyon and Parry went out to meet the approaching Inuit. Silence prevailed. Quiet, trustful barter took place. The Inuit children enjoyed watching the Newfoundland dogs fetch and carry sticks. Parry and Lyon visited the village and recorded their reaction to igloos.

Parry proposed to buy a 'fine lad' by the name of Toolooak for the price of a butcherknife. The boy originally consented to go to the ship but lost his enthusiasm as they came closer to the ships on the return journey. When questioned later on this loss of courage, Toolooak became visibly upset and Parry realized his tactical mistake in bringing up the matter. That Parry offered to 'buy' the boy was as odd as Parry's surprise at the boy's reluctance to go with the Englishmen. On board the *Hecla*, the Inuit joined with the crew in a dance to a fiddle and flute band.

On the second day, the Englishmen went again to the village and dined on English food but in the Inuit houses and then returned to the ships. Confidence grew between the two groups. Parry said that the English purchased two dogs. The dogs escaped from their new masters but were returned by the Inuit.[7] Parry cited this as evidence of the honesty of these people. Ayoket, a young Inuit man, during the course of the interviews, told Lyon that he had seen white people before -- two or three months previously. The sister of Toolooak, named Iligliuk, demonstrated a liking for organ music, fiddle, flute and songs of the crewmen, especially when the sailors had fitted Inuit names into their songs. Parry cited Iligliuk as one of the most intelligent of the Inuit. According to Parry's judgment, if an Inuk liked things English, then she was intelligent. Parry drew a sketch of Togolatione, one of the 'prettiest' women of the visiting Inuit. Her husband, Ewerat, a man of about forty-five years of age, claimed to be an 'Angetook' or conjuror. The English preferred that connotation of 'conjuror' with its suggestion of magical hoodwinking.

One of the first Inuit acquaintances of Lyon was a man by the name of Nak-ka-khioo or "the Bladder." Since the English had difficulty with the pronunciation of the Inuit name, Lyon designated Nak-ka-khioo as

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[7] Ibid., p. 287.

"Kettle." Mrs. Kettle inscribed a tattoo on Lyon and other sailors and she became Lyon's "Amana" or adopted mother. But this nicknaming of people became common to all expeditions. Another small statured man received the nickname of John Bull. It is natural for a person attempting difficult name pronunciation to substitute another familiar cognomen. The English propensity to name all geographic places with English names without regard for the existing native one was also common. Both practices of nicknaming and giving new names to geographic places demonstrated the lack of regard that the Englishmen had for native people and geographic and linguistic knowledge of those people.

The increasing familiarity of the contact brought some instances of friction. Ka-oong-ut, father of Toolooak, stole a nail. Parry expressed displeasure and banished him from the ship. On occasion Parry even resorted to flogging. It was important to the Englishmen to be firm with these people and punish any who overstepped the English defined boundary of propriety.

In the dead of winter, the Inuit had a shortage of food so Parry attempted to alleviate the difficulty with gifts of "bread dust." On one of their visits to the village, Parry and Lyon had a demonstration of how Okotook, an excellent hunter, speared the seal and Parry duly respected Okotook's skill.[8] Later, Okotook gave Parry his first ride on a dog drawn sled which impressed Parry in that the two mile distance was traversed in twenty-five minutes.

Iligliuk displayed other characteristics that charmed Parry. The latter placed several sheets before her on a table and drew an outline of the land surrounding Repulse and Lyon Bay. Parry wrote:

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[8] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 216.

> Iligliuk was not long in comprehending what we desired, and with a pencil continued the outline, making the land trend as we supposed to the north-eastward, and giving the names of the principal places as she proceeded. The scale being large, it was necessary when she came to the end of one piece of paper, to take on another, till at length she had filled ten or twelve sheets, and had completely lost sight of Winter Island (called Neyūning-Eīt-dua) at the other end of the table.[9]

Sailors depended upon cartographers and thus naturally respected them. So Iligliuk assumed a commanding respect in Parry's eyes. Lyon commented on the fact that Middleton had sent an officer fifteen leagues north of Deer Sound in 1741-42 and that the officer reported a sea with islands in it. Further, two officers searching Lyon Inlet had climbed a high hill from which they could view a sea to the west. Now, Iligliuk confirmed these reports. Lyon reported:

> In a chart of Iligliak's [sic], which I have in my possession, she connected the land, from our winter quarters to the N.W. sea, rounding and terminating the northern extremity of this part of America by a large island, and a strait of sufficient magnitude to afford a safe passage for the ships. This little North-west Passage set us all castle building.[10]

Ayoket (Ayookitt) confirmed the information.[11]

Lyon spoke of "building castles" after hearing this report but his commanding officer, with less enthusiasm, said:

> It was observable, however, that no two charts much resembled each other, and that the greater number of them still less resembled the truth in those parts of the coast with which we were well acquainted.[12]

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[9] George Francis Lyon, The Private Journal of Captain G. F. Lyon Annotated by James A. Houston (Bare, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1970), pp. 111-12.

[10] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 250. [11] Ibid., p. 112.

[12] Parry, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 251.

Nevertheless, to Iligliuk and Ayoket belong the honour of charting a missing link in the North West Passage -- Lyon and Parry circumstantially received the information and recorded it for the literary world. Moreover, Ayoket and Iligliuk provided the blueprint for Rae's 1846-47 expedition, even suggesting the route by which Rae could bypass the Fury and Hecla Straits to get to Akkoolee or Committee Bay. Rae had read Lyon and admitted this in his journal.[13]

Parry and Lyon decided to spend a night in the home of old Ilumea and her daugher, Togolat. Parry wrote that the Inuit were grateful when one stayed with them or ate their food.[14] During the evening, a hunting party brought home a load of walrus meat. The Englishmen participated in the glad celebrations. Parry even had time to note that the Inuit men, in spite of the plenty, were up early next morning to renew the hunt, but Parry was impelled to add:

> It is certain, indeed, that were the people more provident (or, in other words, less gluttonous, for they do not waste much), they might never know what it is to want provisions, even during the most inclement part of the year.[15]

And Lyon, in much the same spirit, said:

> The women having fed all their better halves to sleep, and not having neglected themselves, had nothing now to do but talk and beg as usual.[16]

It seemed characteristic of both Parry and Lyon that they had to

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[13] Rae, passim.

[14] Parry, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 256.

[15] Ibid., p. 262.

[16] Lyon, op. cit., p. 115.

divide the Inuit character into segments such as industry, food habits and prudence. Where excellent marks were assigned in one category, there was corresponding fault finding in another. The Inuit kept at the hunt even when they had plenty but they were only "more prudent" than others. Lyon built castles of the mind when the Inuit told him of a way to the northern sea; Parry complained that the same maps drawn by the Inuit did not resemble the coasts that Parry thought he knew.

Parry, guided by Iligliuk, decided to visit a distant village to stay for an evening with Arnaneelia and his wife, Aneetka. On that evening, seal had been killed and Parry noted with awe and disdain the carving up of the animals and the ensuing banquet in the same room. He told the people the Hearne story of the killing of the Inuit at Coppermine and the people were horror stricken. Said Parry, "I was almost sorry that I had told them the story."[17] These were not the responses of a warlike people.

Okatook and Iligliuk returned the visit and Parry displayed such wonders as welding, pictures, clothing, utensils and weapons. Iligliuk asked about women and why there were no women in the English party. The assurance that many of the sailors were married but had left their wives at home astonished her. Women were a necessity in travelling for the Inuit because they sewed, cooked and carried. It was as difficult to think of travelling without women for the Inuit as it was for the English to think of travelling under these conditions with women.

The residents of Winter Island decided to move to better hunting grounds in May. These people had established the village at Winter

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[17] Parry, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 268.

Island for the sole purpose to be close to the ships. They chose the location for social contact not for hunting. The Inuit headed north and thirty-eight days of Inuit travel elapsed before the Inuit and the ship crews saw each other again. The ships had sailed but three days. The Inuit came aboard, gave further directions, and departed.

On July 16, the ships arrived near what Iligliuk had designated as Igloolik, the northernmost settlement along this coast. Timidly, the people advanced. Lyon and Parry, by now, knew enough Inuktitut that they could make themselves understood. When the sailors indicated that they had come from Winter Island then the Inuit spokesman, Innookshioo, indicated that his wife, Ang-ma-loo-too-een-ga, was the sister of Togolat. Sailors and Inuit now had acquaintances in common. The sailors were invited to the village where they stayed for two days.[18] When the sailors attempted to embark on their return, stormy seas prevented them from reaching their ships. The Inuit saw the small boat in distress and came to its assistance. The hospitable natives brought the boat crew to their homes and posted a guard to keep intruders away from the boats. At last, the stranded crews were able to make the trip back to the ships.

Lyon decided to accompany Toolemak on a four day fishing trip for salmon. Four Inuit accompanied Lyon and a sailor. At the fishing place, Ooyarra greeted them. The women mended the traveller's clothes. An assemblage came to "hear me [Lyon] talk of Winter Island and to see us eat."[19] Then the Hecla hoved into view and Ooyarra and Toolemak came on board for the evening. The above were not momentous happenings but Lyon depicted a genuine, hospitable, helful, questioning, co-operative group of people. His knowledge of the Winter Island people was his introit and the fact that he had some Inuktitut knowledge was of great advantage.

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[18] Lyon, op. cit., p. 146.

[19] Ibid., p. 156.

Parry wrote how Toolemak washelpful in delineating the sought for straits into the Akkoolee:

> [Toolemak] and his companions came on board the Fury when I employed him for a couple of hours in drawing a chart of the strait. Tookemak, though a sensible and intelligent man, was no draftsman, so that his performance in this way, if taken alone, was not a very intelligible delineation of the coast. By dint however of a great deal of talking on his part, and some exercise of patience on ours, we at length obtained a copious verbal illustration of his sketch which confirmed all our former accounts respecting the existence of a passage to the westward of this immediate neighbourhood, and the large extent of land called Keiyuktarruoke on the northern side of the strait [Baffin Island].[20]

Toolemak thus made his contribution and added to that of Iligliuk and Ayoket in providing information about missing links of the North West Pasages.

(36) Another People Who Have Disappeared: British Naval Exploring Expedition, George Lyon, 1824

Lyon visited the Sadlermiut in 1824. He presented a vivid picture of the people of Southampton Island. Lyon met Nee-a-kood-loo, a native of Southampton Island, on August 4, 1824. The latter, afloat on an inflated skin raft, came in the following manner:

> On approaching, he [Nee-a-kood-loo] exhibited some little signs of fear; his teeth chattered, and himself and seal skins trembled in unison. It was evident from the manner of this poor fellow, that he had come off as a kind of herald from his tribe, and as I felt for his alarm, I threw him a string of beads, which he

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[20] Parry, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 101.

> received in great trepidation, and placed, with trembling fingers, across a large bunch of hair which protruded from his forehead. A few friendly signs which accompanied by gift, gave him more confidence, and he soon came alongside.[21]

Neeakoodloo responded by proferring Lyon a gift of two dried salmon, jumped into the Lyon small boat and the crew began to row ashore where other tribesmen obviously awaited. Neeakoodloo continued to jump up and make signs to his compatriots on land, assuring them of his safety. Lyon described Neeakoodloo as about twenty years of age, very small and brown. Lyon, with Winter Island and Igloolik experience, had difficulty understanding and in making Neeakoodloo understand.

On shore, Neeakoodloo introduced Lyon to six countrymen, showed him their rough knives made out of chipped flint with bone handles and conveyed Lyon to the nearby tents. On the way, they passed several small storehouses --

> . . . of about six feet in height by ten in diameter, built of rough slabs of limestone, rudely but regularly piled up, and Neeakoodloo opened one to shew me that it contained a quantity of split salmon, suspended by tails in such a manner that no small animals could reach them.[22]

This is reminiscent of Abacus Prickett's description of the "depot" on Digges Island some 213 years before.

These people had umiaks and dogs but different words for items and animals than Lyon had ever heard. The women and the children were shy. No one begged. The possessions of the people were not of the sophistication of the Igloolik or Winter Island people. Lyon thought this to be the first time these people had contact with white people even though the Hudson's Bay shipping routes were near.[23]

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[21] George Francis Lyon, A Brief Narrative of an Unsuccessful Attempt to Reach Repulse Bay, Through Sir Thomas Rowe's "Welcome" in His Majesty's Ship Griper in the year MDCCCXXIV (London: John Murray, 1825), p. 56.

[22] Ibid., p. 64.

Neeakoodloo is the only Sadlermiut named in the journals surveyed and Lyon provided the only description of a people who lived in the area where the Sadlermiut were located and at a time when it can be demonstrated that Sadlermiut existed.

According to other Inuit, the Sadlermiut were thought to be timid and simple people. They were slow to get involved in the whale trade and they tended to prefer flight (as the Neeakoodloo episode illustrates) to confrontation.

(38) Misery Loves Company: British North-west Expedition: John Ross, 1829-33

For his Crocker Land error in the 1818 expedition, John Ross had suffered eclipse for more than ten years. Parry had been the choice of the backers of naval enterprises during those ten years. Now, Parry was exhausted after four operations in the Arctic and he was not too popular with the Admiralty because he had abandoned the Fury on Somerset Island in 1824.

Each of the divisions of people, Inuit and Dene, with the exception of the Netsilik, had now been visited. The Inuit and Dene had not been visited because Europeans thought that the natives had worthwhile information but because they happened to be at places where the Europeans had directed their ships. Now the spotlight focused on Boothia Peninsula and Somerset Island.

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[23] Ibid., p. 64.

John and James Ross, aboard the Victory, provided with both sail and steam power, sailed on a three year assignment to the area in question. The engine proved balky and bulky and was completely out of commission by the time Ross reached Felix Harbour. Ross had boldly sailed into Prince Regent Inlet from Lancaster Sound, picked up the Fury stores, sailed on past Bellot Strait and then was trapped by a wall of ice.[24] Of this wall of ice, Ross said, "The prison door was shut upon us for the first time; leaving us feeling that we were as helpless and hopeless captives, for many long and weary months to come."[25]

Until January, 1830, the Victory, locked in its prison of ice, had no contact with the Inuit. They came on January 9. The Inuit reconnoitered the ships. The sailors saw them. Ross went out to meet them, calling, "Tima, aja" (peace). A shout came back. Both sides revealed that they had no concealed weapons. James Ross had some experience in speaking Inuktitut. John Ross wrote:

> . . . and being informed that we were Europeans, Kablunae, they answered that they were men, Inuit. Their numbers amounted to thirty-one. Two were lame, and, with an old man, were drawn by the others on sledges; one of them having lost a leg from a bear . . ., and the other having a broken or diseased thigh.[26]

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[24] Cooke, op. cit., p. 155.

[25] John Ross, Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-west Passage, and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions During the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833 . . . Including Reports of Commander, now Captain, James Clark Ross . . . and the Discovery of the Northern Magnetic Pole (London: A. W. Webster, 1835), p. 185.

[26] Ibid., p. 243.

The Inuit displayed knives that they had obviously received in trade with the Europeans, knew of Repulse Bay and could point in the direction of that place. The Inuit consented to a visit to the ship. They expressed little of the wonder that the 1818 people of the Baffin coast had when they viewed the ship externally but the gift of pieces of iron did excite them. Moreover, once on the ship, the Inuit expressed astonishment at such things as engravings, mirrors, lamps and candle sticks but did not relish the preserved meats. As Ross speculated:

> It was for philosophers to interest themselves in speculating on a horde so small, and so secluded, occupying so apparently hopeless a country, so barren, so wild, and so repulsive; and yet enjoying the most perfect vigour, the most well-fed health, and all else that here constitutes, not merely wealth, but the opulence of luxury.[27]

The next day, Ross visited the twelve snow huts that were in the vicinity. Ross and companions were as astonished at the village as his visitors of yesterday had been at the ship's interior. Ross described the snow house, the method of heating, the clear ice that served as windows and the women. Some of the Inuit accompanied the sailors back to the ship and attempted to eat with the crew. The Inuit mimicked the table manners of the Englishmen but were not overly impressed with the food and Felix Booth's gin.

On January 11, 1831, Tulluahiu, who had only one leg, was brought to the ship to have his leg stump measured for an artificial limb. Several days later this artificial limb was fitted on, much to the delight of its new owner. This excited the envy of the other lame Inuk who felt his sore leg should be replaced with an artificial one.

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[27] Ibid., p. 248.

Robert Huish tells how James Ross,

> laid before them [two Inuit visitors to the ship] a piece of paper and asked them to trace on it the way which the land trended, and according to their marking, every thing appeared favourable to the expedition; according to the account given by them, the expedition had already seen the coast of America and that forty miles to the south west were two great seas, divided by a narrow strait or neck of land. It was computed that about nine days journey would bring them to the place which they had marked out.[28]

A comparison of this description could be made on Map 21 which follows.

These two seas must have been Rae Strait and Chantrey Inlet but the narrow strip of land was not continuous. This may have led Ross to the wrong conclusions about King William Island -- that it was connected to the mainland. Undoubtedly, there were interpreter problems because James Ross could not have been that proficient in Inuktitut.

The only hostile meeting between the English and the Netsilik took place in April of 1830. James Ross had acquired a guide and wanted to visit the territory north of Felix Harbour. The team of dogs conducting James approached a village. The village dogs caused an uproar. Out streamed the Inuit from their snow houses and they seemed to be angry, threatening Ross for no cause that he could understand. The most angry and threatening was Pow-wee-yak. Finally, a woman described what was wrong. A seven or eight year old, the adopted son of Pow-wee-yak, had been accidentally killed on the day preceding and Pow-wee-yak had somehow come to feel that it was brought about by the "ankooting" power of the

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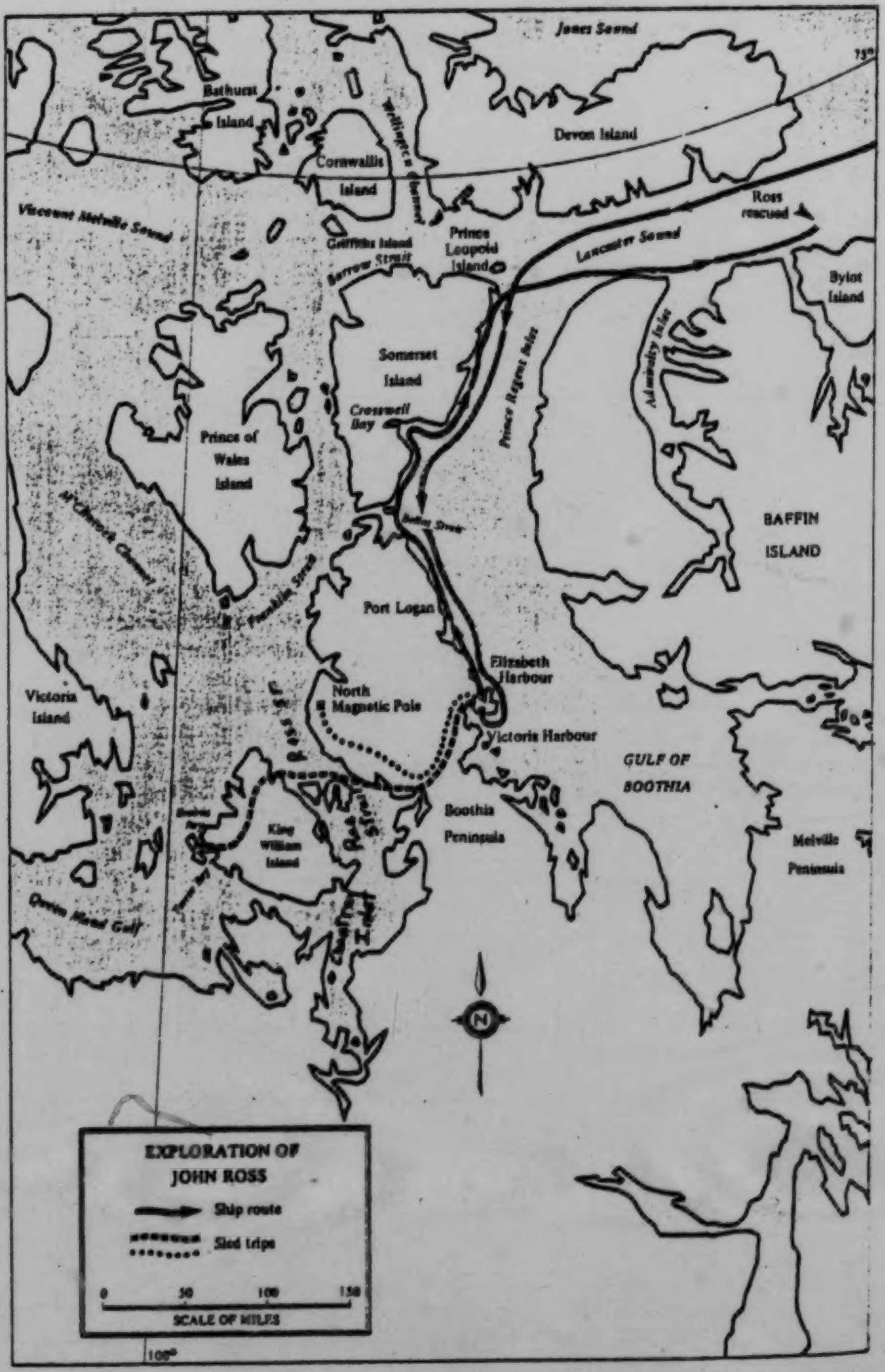
[28] Robert Huish, The Last Voyage of Capt. Sir John Ross, R.N. to the Arctic Regions; for the Discovery of a North West Passage; Performed in the Years 1829-30-31-32 and 33 . . . (London: John Saunders, 1835), p. 190.


Jones Sound
75°
Bathurst Island
Wellington Channel
Cornwallis Island
Devon Island
Viscount Melville Sound
Griffiths Island
Barrow Strait
Prince Leopold Island
Lancaster Sound
Ross rescued
Bylot Island
Somerset Island
Creswell Bay
Prince Regent Inlet
Admiralty Inlet
Prince of Wales Island
M'Clintock Channel
Franklin Strait
Bellot Strait
BAFFIN ISLAND
Port Logan
Elizabeth Harbour
North Magnetic Pole
Victoria Island
Victoria Harbour
GULF OF BOOTHIA
Boothia Peninsula
King William Island
Ross Strait
Melville Peninsula
Queen Maud Gulf
EXPLORATION OF JOHN ROSS
Ship route
Sled trips
0
50
100
150
SCALE OF MILES
100°
N

Map 21. Explorations of John Ross

From: Farley Mowat, Ordeal by Ice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), p. 182.

whitemen. A discussion occurred following the incident and satisfactory explanations were made to all concerned.

But Huish explains that John Ross was not above allowing the Inuit to think that the whitemen had super powers. On occasion, Ross sent a rocket into the air which the Inuit called the "messenger of fire," predicted where seals were to be caught, acted as a medical practitioner and even as a prophet who could divine the truth. The Inuit, quick to sense Ross's own opinion of himself, believed him and thus the Inuit considered it possible for Ross to cause the misfortune to Pow-wee-yak's son.[29]

The Inuit did not appear until April of 1831. In March, Ross laments:

> Our disappointment in not seeing the Esquimaux continued daily increasing, as their expected visit was the longer delayed. Their presence would have furnished us with occupation and amusement. We were also in want of seal's flesh for our dogs, which would have starved had it not been for our success in taking foxes; for ourselves too, fresh venison and fish would have been more than acceptable; nor were we so well stocked with skin dresses as not to wish for more.[30]

This would not be the last plaint of the voyager wishing for the visit and help of native people. Kane, Hayes, Greely, Nares and others would echo the same wish for company in later journals. Ross's comment was a reluctant admission as well as a testimonial of service that had been and could be rendered by the Inuit. Ross had discovered the value of Inuit contact but he was the wrong man to discover and popularize the idea.

On April 20, Neytaknag, Poweytak and Noyenak came to the ship.

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[29] Ibid., p. 382.

[30] Ibid., p. 509.

They said they had missed the whitemen and thought they would visit the villages of Awatutyak and Neitchillee. Several days later, Ross was escorted to Neitchillee to pick up three packs of fish which he had purchased. The Inuit built the Englishmen a snow house, supplied them with water and blankets while the Englishmen were their guests. Ross treated an old lady with 'physic' and she repaid him with a stone that was used for striking fire which was no mean gift in that land. The Inuit told Ross how they had named a child after James Ross. The name given was Aglugga [Augleeock] (the bold hunter) whereas the name given John Ross was Puluach (The Raven). This was the reverse process to that of the English giving nicknames to the Inuit. Fifty years later and more the names of Aglugga and Puluach were still being bandied about. John Ross, himself, was learning to take what he once thought as faults or weaknesses into context of the whole. On the occasion of discussing the husbandless mother of five children, he said:

> Let the wise of wiser lands travel hither and take lessons of wisdom from the savages in seal-skins, who drink oil, and eat their fish raw.
>
> Of another portion of their political economy, I must not speak with approbation; yet there is some philosophical fitness in it too. We must not pull a system of legislation to pieces, and then say that this or other single law is a bad one. Let the whole be contemplated in a mass, and looked at in all its bearings, before we presume to decide what is right.[31]

Ross might have said 'take things in context' but the important thing was that he was learning.

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[31] Ibid., p. 516.

(41) Confidant To a Whaling Master: British Whaling Voyage: William Penny, 1840

Eenoolooapik was born in 1819 at Keimooksiik on Tenudiackbeek Bay on Cumberland Sound. Nootoapik, the mother of Eenoolooapik, had this first child at about the time that William Parry entered Lancaster Sound. On the other side of Cumberland Peninsula from Tenudiackbeek Bay lay Durban Island. Here, the whalers established a shore base and Durban became the Mecca for those Inuit who wished to work with the whalers. When ten years old, Eenoolooapik's family went to Durban. The men travelled in the kayaks and the women in the oomiaks. The two hundred mile trip was an arduous one and the topography of the coast emblazoned itself on the boy's mind.[32]

Eenoolooapik began to work for the whalers and he wondered about the lands from which they came. He expressed an interest in going there but family difficulties intervened. Penny sought information about a bay which the Inuit called Tenudiackbeek where there were said to be many whales. Penny asked Eenoolooapik to accompany the Bon Accord to Scotland in 1839 and Eenoolooapik accepted.

When Penny had interviewed Eenoolooapik, Alexander M'Donald says the following occurred:

> [Eenoolooapik] delineated a chart in which he represented the shore as abruptly leaving the general coast line of Davis' Strait, and stretching to the westward for about sixty miles; then trending to the northward until it arrived at a point which he described as

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[32] Alexander M'Donald, A Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik, a Young Esquimaux, Who Was Brought to Britain in 1839, in the Ship Neptune of Aberdeen: An Account of the Discovery of Hogarth's Sound: Remarks on the Northern Whale Fishery, and Suggestions for its Improvement (Edinburgh: Fraser and Company, 1841), p. 5.

> immediately opposite to Durban. From this point a deep inlet, named by the Esquimaux Kingaite, penetrated so far into the land, in the direction of Durban, as almost to insulate the portion to the southward. From the entrance to this inlet, the shore again took a westerly direction for about forty miles, when another deep inlet, named Kingoua formed the termination of the sea to the northward . . . The general name which he gave to the sea thus laid down, was Tenudiackbeek - a name supposed to have some reference to the number of whales frequenting it.[33]

An overview of the situation in the whaling industry in 1839 will serve to demonstrate why Penny was so interested in Eenoolooapik. The petition of the shipowners of Kirkaldy submitted to the Admiralty in 1839 eloquently described the situation:

> That in the year 1830 Eighty seven vessels were engaged in this Whale fishery. In the present year the number of ships thus employed had decreased to twenty seven-
>
> That in consequence of this year's fishing, preceded as it has been by four seasons nearly equally unproductive a further declension of vessels may be expected and there is reason to fear that in the event of another miscarriage the trade will become altogether extinct-
>
> That the cause which has mainly conducted to the ruin of this valuable branch of our Fisheries appears to your Petitioners to be a change in the haunts of the Fish-
>
> -That this opinion had been confirmed by the statements of several Esquimaux who were this year discerned on the south western shores of Davis Straits, and one of whom had been brought to Aberdeen-
>
> -That from the information obtained it appears that between the months of May and September the fish are to be found in the interior of Frobisher's Straits [Cumberland Sound is meant].
>
> That these Straits have never been thoroughly explored, and may be presumed, from the direction of the natives to have much greater inland extent that has hitherto been supposed . . . That your Petitioners already dispirited by several losses in the trade are unable of themselves to equip such an expedition, and have no other resources than to solicit the aid of your Lordships.[34]

Whalers, like fur traders, had learned to rely heavily on native informants. Indeed, in the above plea, the whalers cited natives as authorities on geography and the habits of the whale. So Penny's interest in Eenoolooapik is understandable.

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[33] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[34] Clive Holland, "William Penny, 1809-92: Arctic Whaling Master," Polar Record, 29, no. 4 (1951), 31.

But it was the Inuit turn to view the Scots. Eenoolooapik landed on the shores of Caithness. On the run to Aberdeen, a fellow passenger threw a gold chain about Eenoolooapik's neck in jest. Eenoolooapik thought it was a gift but the owner demanded the chain back. Said Eenoolooapik, "You give me to take from me - not good - Innuit . . . no do that." M'Donald included the anecdotes to illustrate the fact that most Europeans, in their curiosity about natives, seldom gave that group credit for having principles and sensitivity.

Eenoolooapik did produce a sensation in Aberdeen. Almost immediately crowds formed to meet him. His health could not take the strain of wet climate and meeting all who wanted to see him. He experienced "pulmonary affection." For nearly three months he was confined to bed. Penny, during all this time, was "all the same to him as a mother," said Eenoolooapik.[35]

When Penny sailed from Aberdeen on March 20, 1840, he first had to go into Melville Bay on the Greenland side. Eenoolooapik enjoyed the Greenlanders and he began to see this world as the European sailors saw it. He came to realize the dangers that beset the sailors when they had to fight the sea ice. As they crossed the North Water, and they passed Cape Walsingham, he recognized landmarks. Two Inuit who had been picked up in a small boat recognized him and they informed Eenoolooapik of the presence of whales and promised to take a message back to Nootoapik, Eenoolooapik's mother.

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[35] Ibid., p. 32.

The ship landed at the Inuit village of Noodlook and instantly both Bon Accord and Eenoolooapik became the centres of attraction for villagers. Eenoolooapik found himself eyeing Coonook, daughter of Aaniapik, the conjuror of Noodlook. She returned his love.[36]

Finally, the Bon Accord arrived at Tenudiackbeek but there were no whales. The Inuit reported the whales had been there and that they would come again when "the sun was low" (Autumn). Eenoolooapik took his leave of Penny and the Bon Accord returned to Aberdeen. Penny did not catch any whales that season. In consequence, Hogarth found it necessary to sell the ship to pay his expenses.[37]

In 1844, Penny became the captain of another ship and when he was again in the vicinity of Cumberland Sound, he headed for Keimooksook and there met Eenoolooapik who remained with him for the season. Penny caught seven whales in 1844, nineteen in 1845, and fourteen in 1846. Penny's success was now established and other whalers flocked to the scene. A new whaling field had been established just as others had been phasing out. Penny became involved in the search for Sir John Franklin in 1847. He also heard of the death of Eenoolooapik from consumption in the same year.

Penny did not write books but he visited Eenoolooapik each year until 1847. A bond of affection existed between the two men. Penny never forgot the ravages that the effects of the whitemen brought to the Inuit. Perhaps as reparation for the damage Penny determined to bring a missionary to the Inuit. In 1871, Charles Francis Hall estimated that in the thirty years that Cumberland Sound whale trade continued that the whalers harvested fifteen million dollars worth of whale oil and bone.[38] Penny recognized the great value of people like Eenoolooapik.

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[36] Ibid., p. 88.

[37] Holland, op. cit., p. 33.

(64) Co-existence in Parity: Whales and Inuit in Hudson Bay, 1860 and After

Moses Norton had started the Black Whale trade in Hudson Bay in the 1760's. The Hudson's Bay Company, after a few attempts, had to stop their attempts. This first attempt by the Company to begin a whaling industry in Hudson Bay was not repeated for almost a century afterwards. Every visitor to the Bay had commented on the presence of whales and so when the Cumberland Sound area began to have fewer and fewer whales, it was natural for whalers to search elsewhere for new whale fields. Map 22 indicates that the area from just south of Rankin Inlet through Roe's Welcome Sound to Repulse Bay became the resort of the whalers between the 1860's to the 1890's.

Whaling in Hudson Bay, according to J. B. Bird, created "the first serious inroads into native culture, population numbers and distribution."[39] Ross, after studying the logs and journals of some 146 whaling voyages to Hudson Bay, reported that 105 winterings by whalers on different occasions were made. Ross further commented that this number of winterings far exceeded that carried on in the Davis Strait-

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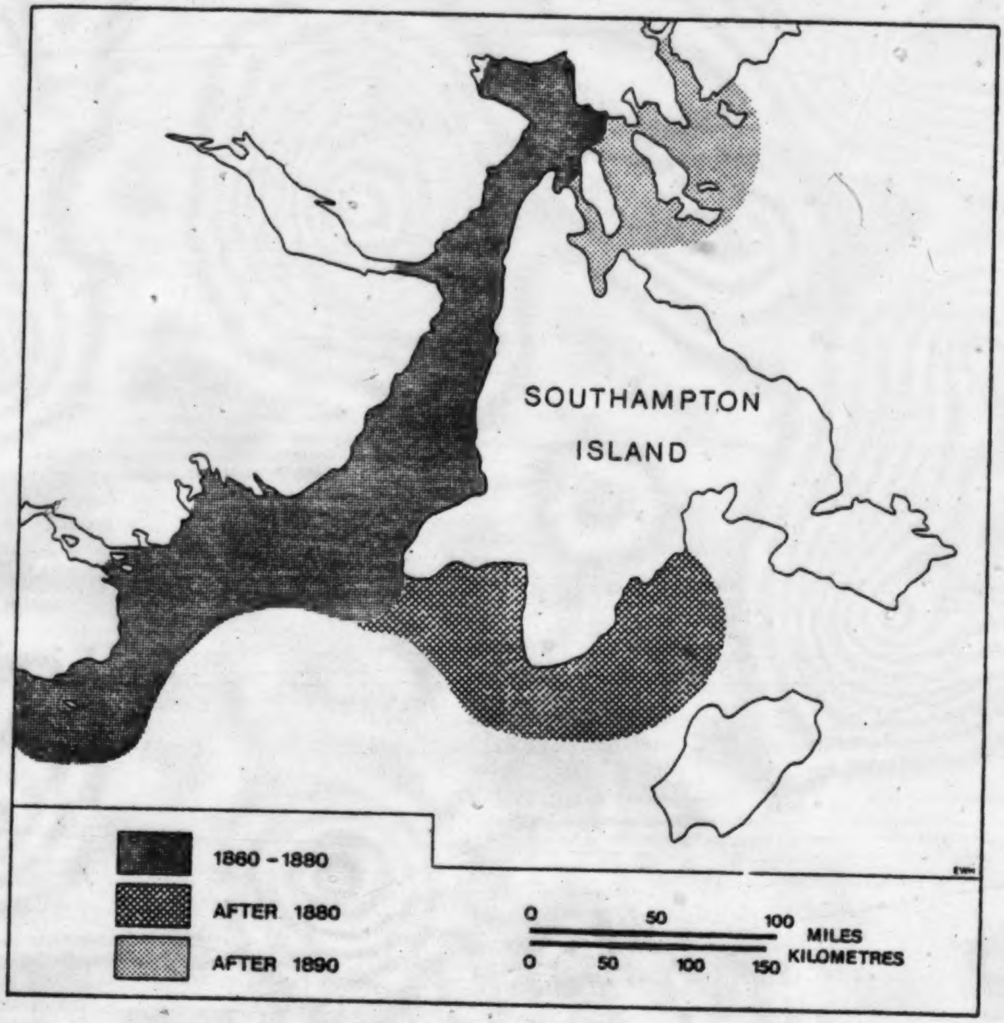
[38] Ibid., p. 41.

[39] J. B. Bird, "The Arctic," Canada a Geographical Interpretation, ed. John Workentin (Toronto: Methuen), pp. 508-28.


SOUTHAMPTON
ISLAND
1860 - 1880
AFTER 1880
AFTER 1890
0
50
100
MILES
0
50
100
150
KILOMETRES
EWH

Extension of the whaling grounds
Source: Logbooks and journals listed in the References

Map 22. Extension of the Whaling Grounds to Hudson Bay

From: W. Gillies Ross, Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay, 1860-1915 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 39.

Baffin or Herschel Island-Mackenzie Delta area.[40] These visits created a milieu to prepare the way for the missionary and fur trader intrusion in the northwest section of Hudson Bay just as the fur trader became the precursor of settlement, resource development and even "exploration" at the bottom of the bay.[41]

Stuart C. Sherman regarded the log books and journals as useful in gathering information on "early stages of cultural contact." Sherman commented that the journal "is often a fuller and more subjective account which provided an outlet for the outpourings of the emotions, reactions and personality of the writer."[42]

The journals that Ross used (69) in his study supplemented the seventy-seven utilized in the present study.[43] True, Ross used the journals to examine early whaling areas and the economic and cultural effect of the whaling on Inuit people. This present study is more concerned with the image presented by the Inuit dramatis personae.

The Hudson's Bay Company had ceased its active promotion of trading for whale products in the 1790's.[44] Up to the 1860's, Inuit and white contacts were sporadic, only occurring when an expedition visited a certain sector or when Inuit visited a distant southern Hudson's Bay post.

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[40] W. Gillies Ross, Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860-1915 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 21.

[41] Ibid., p. 21.

[42] Stuart C. Sherman, The Voice of the Whaleman, With an Account of the Nicholson Whaling Collection (Providence: Providence Public Library, 1965), p. 40.

[43] Gillies Ross, op. cit., p. 23.

[44] Ibid., p. 37.

Ross gives the following table (Table 2) which indicates the number of whaling voyages into Hudson Bay by decade. Most of the voyages (80) out of the total (146) were made in the period between 1860 and 1880. Thus, the greatest concentration of whaling in Hudson Bay occurred in the 1860-80 period.

Table 2

Whaling Voyages into Hudson Bay by Decade

Decade	United States	British	Total
1860-1870	57	2	59
1870-1880	21	0	21
1880-1890	17	2	19
1890-1900	15	6	21
1900-1910	4	14	18
1910-1920	3	5	8
	117	29	146

(From W. Gillies Ross, op. cit., p. 37)

Eenoolooapik and Captain Penny had planned a whaler colony at Tenudiackbeek in Cumberland Sound but Penny was not the first to essay the implementation of such a plan. Captain Quail of the McClellan left fourteen men in 1851 in Cumberland Sound. The men wintered with the Inuit. Whaling operations occurred until late in the autumn and were resumed early in the spring when the men could winter. Quail picked up the men, who were in obvious good health, but the McClellan was wrecked and the men were picked up by Captain Parker of the Hull whaler Truelove in 1852.[45] The fact that the wintering party could survive and had tremendous success in acquiring whale products influenced the Perkins and Smith firm to send out the Amaret to winter in Cumberland Sound in 1853-54. One of the important reasons why these missions could be successful was that the crews were getting information from the Inuit, living on provisions provided by the Inuit and adopting clothes, travel methods and survival techniques of the Inuit. Penny was encouraged to winter in Cumberland Sound in the same years.[46]

Early in the 1860's, the "take" from Cumberland Sound decreased. Because of the whaler's close contact with the Inuit, they found out where other groups of whales gathered. Captain Christopher B. Chapel wintered in Hudson Bay at Depot Island in 1860. He triumphantly took home some 21,000 pounds of whalebone, more than any American ship had ever returned from Davis Strait.[47] Naturally, whalemen flocked to the northwest corner of Hudson Bay and continued visiting that corner till 1915.

Map 23 illustrates the area of Hudson Bay and Strait that were visited by the whalemen in the period 1860-1915. Map 24 further indicates the specific harbours where wintering took place in this same time period. It indicates that Marble Island, Depot Island, Cape Fullerton and Repulse Bay were the favourite wintering harbours of the whalers and, of course, one of the reasons for wintering at these places was the

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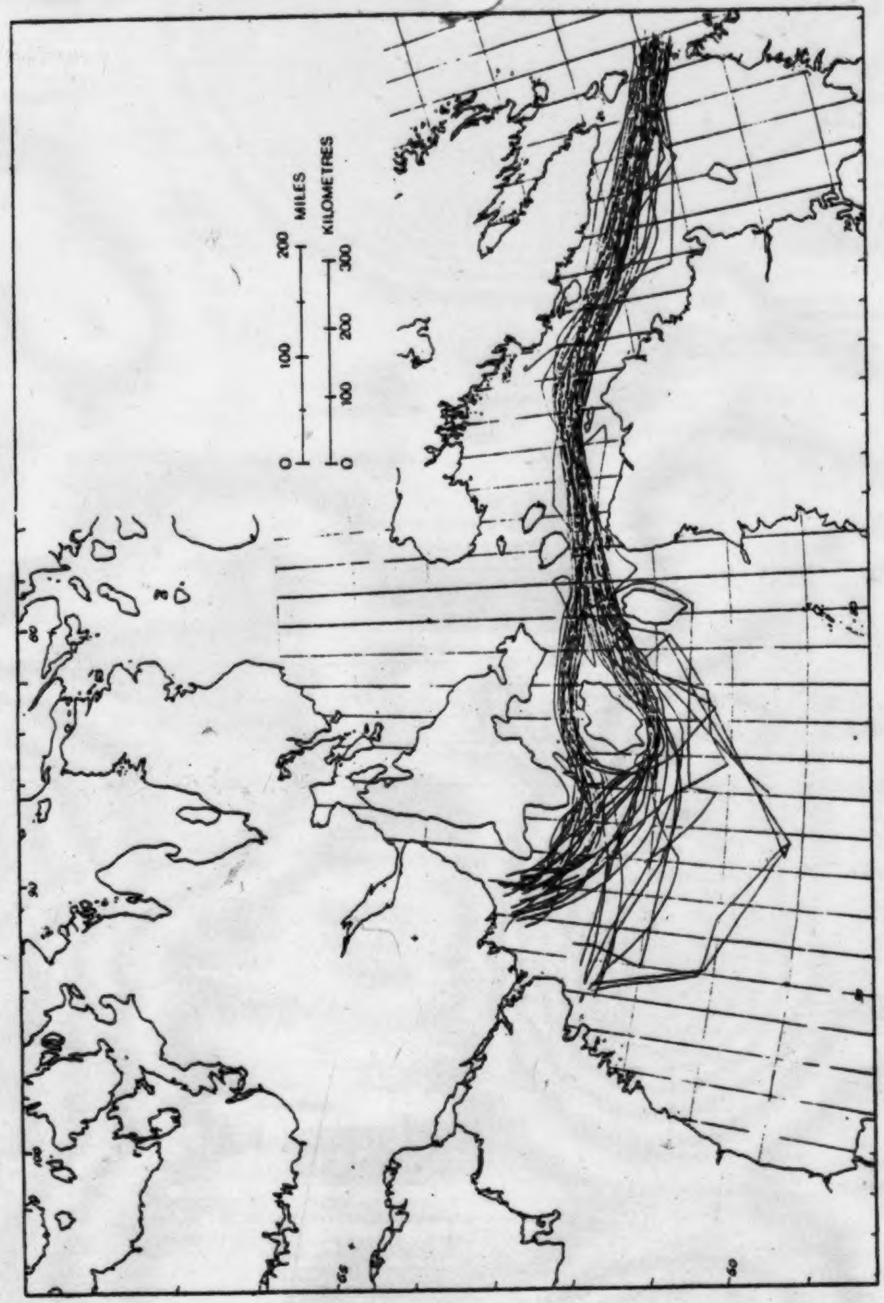
[45] Ibid., p. 143.

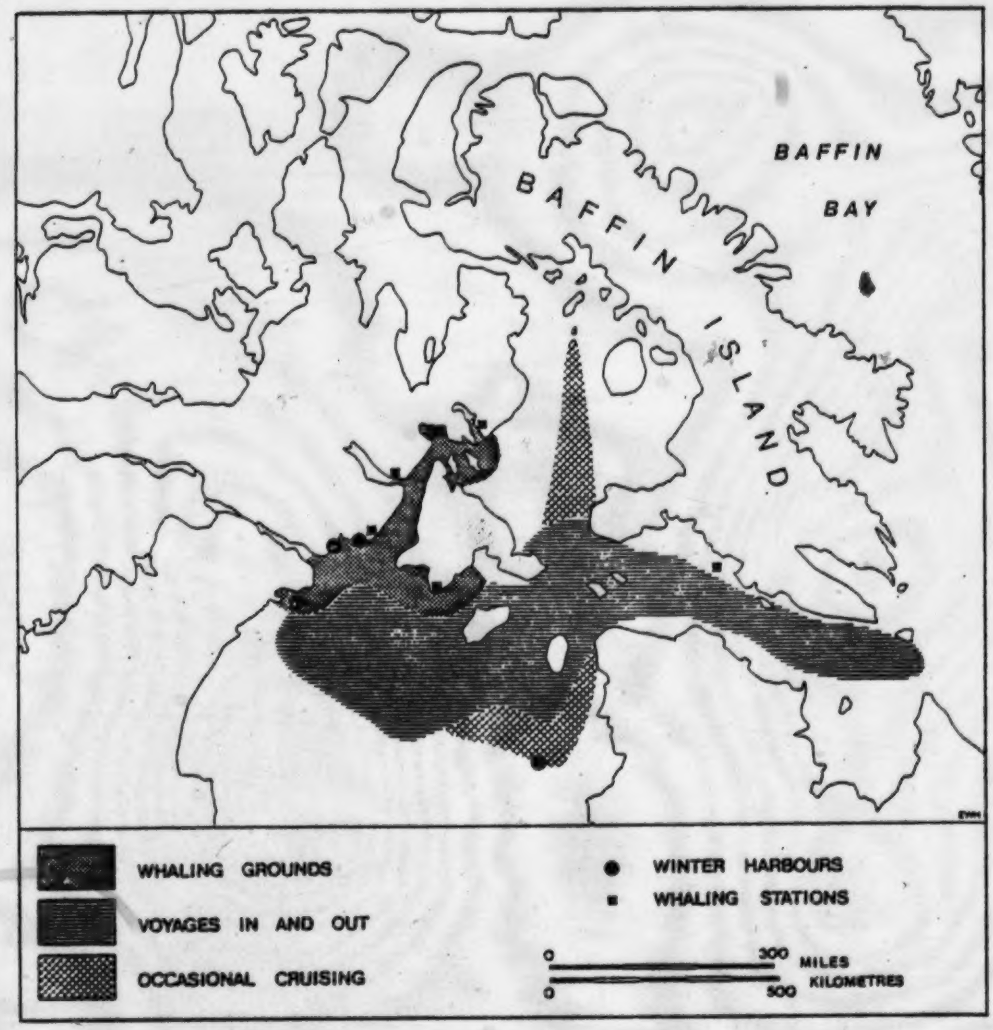
[46] Ibid., p. 143.

[47] Ibid., p. 37.


MILES
0
100
200
KILOMETRES
0
100
200
300

Map 23. Whaling Voyages Out of Hudson Bay, 1860-1915

From: W. Gillies Ross, Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay, 1860-1915 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 58.


BAFFIN
BAY
BAFFIN
ISLAND
WHALING GROUNDS
VOYAGES IN AND OUT
OCCASIONAL CRUISING
WINTER HARBOURS
WHALING STATIONS
0
300
MILES
0
500
KILOMETRES

Map 24. Zones of Whaling Activity, 1860-1915

From: W. Gillies Ross, Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay, 1860-1915 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 59.

presence of nearby Inuit.

Rae visited these areas in 1846, 1847 and 1850-53. He noted that the Inuit south of Rankin had a few guns and that there was a demand for powder and ball.[48] Near Chesterfield Inlet, Rae met a party of nine hunters with only two guns. These hunters were anxious to purchase ammunition.[49] By the end of his last visit, Rae noted that the greater the distance from Churchill the fewer the guns the natives had.[50] The northern limit of gun distribution seemed to be Cape Fullerton.

W. G. Ross created a map which indicated that there were three areas with regard to gun distribution in 1900 (Map 25). The first area was near Churchill where there was access to guns at any time. The second area consisted of regions where natives could make only one annual visit to Churchill. The third portion of the map indicated where natives had no access to whitemen and thus had no guns. The area of greatest density of gun ownership by the Inuit indicated by the map was along the coast and near the sites of the whaling operations. Fewer guns were available to the Inuit the greater the distance of the Inuit from the coast.

The difference between the Rae report and this map is accounted for in large measure by the presence of the whalers. From Marble Island in the south to Repulse Bay in the north, the Inuit acquired their guns from the whalers. The acquisition of the gun had significant effects on

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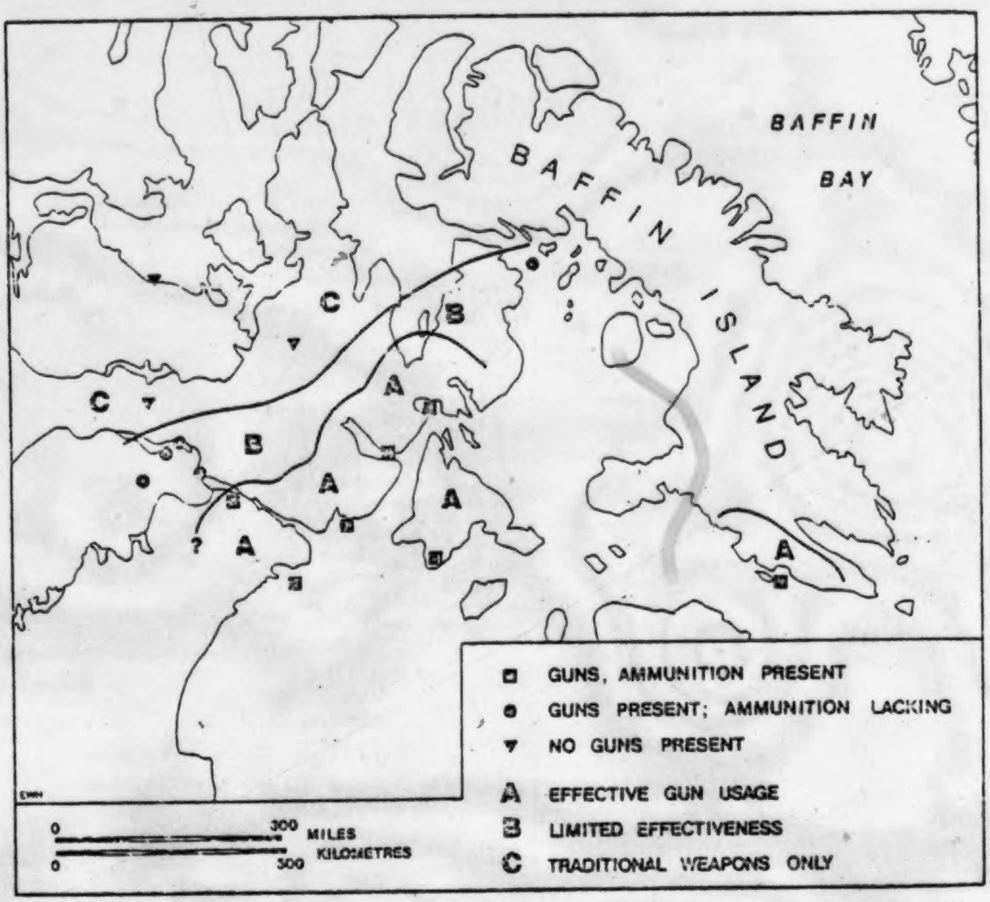
[48] Rae, op. cit., p. 189.

[49] Ross, op. cit., p. 97.

[50] Ibid., p. 97.


BAFFIN BAY
BAFFIN ISLAND
A
B
C
?
GUNS, AMMUNITION PRESENT
GUNS PRESENT; AMMUNITION LACKING
NO GUNS PRESENT
EFFECTIVE GUN USAGE
LIMITED EFFECTIVENESS
TRADITIONAL WEAPONS ONLY
0
300 MILES
0
300 KILOMETRES

Map 25. Distribution of Guns, 1900

From: W. Gillies Ross, Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay, 1860-1915 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 100.

the life of the Inuit as the latter quickly adapted to the use of the gun.

The Inuit did not only have to adapt to the gun. The whale boat came to replace the umiak. Utensils of all types from white manufacturers came to replace the bone instruments which the Inuit had previously used. European diseases were suffered and in time of scarcity, European food adopted. The period of 1860-1880 was only the beginning of the whaling era in this area but these two decades set the stage for the conclusion of the whaling period and the introit of fur trader, missionary, resource hunter and government official.

That the Northern Light and Syren Queen of Captain Chapel in 1860-61 had wintered at Depot Island and had been successful in acquiring more whale products than acquired by whaling ships in Davis Strait has already been mentioned. In wintering, scurvy had claimed the lives of five men. Rescue of the others had come from the Inuit who supplied fresh meat. This was the beginning of a relationship between Inuit and whaler: the Inuit provided the fresh meat whereas the whaler provided food in time of scarcity of game. The Inuk would, if he had followed his own pattern, shift his home with the available game but the attraction of the whaler led him to remain in areas where game was scarce. This Inuit-whaler relationship became the pattern in the years to follow. Ross calls it "fundamental to the Hudson Bay trade."[51]

Since obtaining game in the difficult terrain and climatic conditions was almost impossible for the ships' crews, the Inuit did the hunting. They had the skill, endurance and fur clothing. It was natural to hand over the responsibility to them and the next step was to allow the Inuit to have the gun in order to hunt. The logbook of the Syren Queen indicated that the whalemen traded powder and shot and when they couldn't the Inuit "disliked it much."[52]

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[51] Ross, op. cit., p. 64.

Whalemen had begun to think as Captain S. O. Budington stated to C. F. Hall:

> I am not afraid of losing any more men by scurvy while I have command over them. Whenever there are appearances of it aboard I will have every pork and beef barrel- salt provisions of every kind - headed up at once, and every man shall live upon bread and fresh provisions such as whale, walrus, seal, deer, bear, ptarmigan, ducks, etc.[53]

Budington, Hall and the whalers were quick learners.

The need for game to prevent scurvy led the whalemen to supply guns and powder to the Inuit. Further, this new vocation of the Inuit of providing game for the whalers led the Inuit to congregate where the whalers wintered. It led to the hiring of ship's natives and even to 'contract whaling,' whereby natives were given whaleboats and then paid for the products of the hunt. This period of 1860-80 was one of a relationship between two equals. The Inuit needed the whaler just as the whaler needed the Inuit.

A specific example of this was given by Parker of the Orrey Taft. Parker spoke of meeting the Inuit of the north shore of Hudson Strait and how the Inuit traded the clothes off their backs.[54] This type of trading had gone on since the time of Hudson. The Orrey Taft continued on to Marble Island where five whaling ships had congregated. By January 20, 1865, twenty crewmen had scurvy. By February 17, Parker wondered if "the natives have deserted us." The men's health did improve and the natives did not arrive until March 7 when Parker wrote, "they will be nothing but a nuisance now . . . my men are all well at present, and I think I can keep them so, without the help of the natives." The Inuit departed on March 12 and it was not long before Parker would write, "the scurvy is on the increase at the present - we need the natives as much now as at any time through the winter but we can't get to them." The Inuit did return on at least twelve occasions, Ross reported, between March 14 and June 21. Fourteen thousand pounds of caribou meat was provided by them and as a result only one man died of scurvy in the fleet.[55]

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[52] Syren Queen log, 1860-61, 11 May and 23 June, 1861, Ross, p. 64.

[53] Hall, My Life, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

[54] Ross, op. cit., p. 3.

It can be seen from the above account that it was imperative because of the vagarity of scurvy and its ever presence that the Inuit winter with the whalers -- imperative for the whalers at least. It did not take these practical whalers long to encourage the Inuit to maintain settlements near to the whaling harbours.

The Orrey Taft traded powder to the Inuit in August, 1864.[56] This was symptomatic of the trust that the whalemen placed in the Inuit. Captain Taylor of the Ocean Nymph indicated other services performed by the Inuit, when he stated: "They [the sailors] are a very rough lot. There [sic] conduct with the native women is about as low as any Brute I have seen. With a native (or Esquimaux) Dictionary in Bed [with] them, they soon learn the language and get along."[57]

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[55] Ibid., p. 64.

[56] Ibid., p. 97.

This same ship had been sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company had at last awakened to the challenge presented by the whalers to their monopoly of barter and this was the only intervention of the Company until 1884. The *Ocean Nymph* "hired" seven natives to transport goods, to hunt and to cut up blubber. This act was representative of the practice that had arisen. Ship's natives or families of natives were hired. The Inuit men drove the dog teams, guided and transported and hunted whereas the women sewed footwear and clothing. In return, the families received one or two meals per day aboard the ship.

"Outside" natives or ones who visited periodically, and who were often denoted as "Strange Natives" in the logbooks and journals, brought game and meat. A third type of native was the "squatter" who lived near the ships. This group provided a useful labour pool to the ships. Out of this group, the "ship's natives" could be chosen.

Ross commented that while the *Ocean Nymph* did not by its endeavours encourage the Hudson's Bay Company to make further outlay of money for further ventures, the *Nymph* did teach the whalers how to deal with the Inuit. The *Black Eagle* journals speak about "our native Blucher," "Our native Tom" and others.[58] "Captain White took another family of natives too [sic] keep," says the same logbook on November 27, 1866. Further the

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[57] Ibid., p. 119.

[58] Ibid., p. 80.

Cornelia hired three families and the Glacier had at least two families.[59]

Contract whaling took place after 1880 and it indicated the trend to closer contact with the Inuit. As more Inuit came into contact, the problem of names arose. Captain Ferguson, in 1878, remarked, "his Eskimo name was too long and too hard to pronounce, so we nicknamed him 'Charlie' for short."[60]

Ross reported over sixty male names as recurring in logbooks and journals of the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century. Said he, "John and Jim" were used so frequently that surnames had to be added to distinguish between the Johns. Furthermore, the surnames often came from the whaling ship to which the Inuit was attached or to a hero of the whalemen.[61]

Another practice that became common near the end of the 1870's was for whalers to donate whaleboats to the Inuit. Two Inuit whaleboats came out to meet a whaler in 1878 off Deport Island.[62] Schwatka's exploration party saw two whaleboats from the Eothen in 1878.[63] Schwatka reported:

> an undecked schooner of about fifteen or twenty tons, with lateen sails, under charge of a Kinnepetu Esquimaux named Mokko whom we afterwards dubbed "Captain." This schooner named the Soowoomba had been used as a lighter at the trading posts of Hudson's (sic) Bay, and if we are to believe Innuit reports, the present owner has not come into possession by the most honest of means.[64]

Ross concluded that by 1880 at least five whaleboats were in use in the area.[65] The Inuit began to use the whaleboat and the umiak was retired.

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[59] Ibid., p. 77.

[60] Ibid., p. 80.

[61] Ibid., p. 80.

[62] Ibid., p. 93.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid., p. 93.

Images Portrayed by the Authors of the Journals

The expeditions in this chapter were carried out primarily by sea and while at sea the Europeans were independent. When the sea froze, the Europeans faced a new set of problems. The Europeans involved were either English, Scottish or American and all were sailors -- navy or whalers. At the beginning of the period the expeditions stayed during the open water period, then more time was spent in residence in North America and by 1880 annual visits with semi-permanent shore stations were established.

The expeditions visited the Polar, Baffin, Igloolik, Sadlermiut and Netsilik Inuit. When the stays became of longer duration, certain Inuit people came into prominence. Iligliuk, Ayoket and Toolemak were much commented on by Parry and Lyon as Tulluahiu was by Ross and Eenoolooapik by Penny. Longer stays meant greater familiarity and familiarity brought the focussing on individuals. Sackheuse lived with the sailors. Parry and Lyon visited Igloolik homes and the visits were returned. The Rosses did the same with the Netsilik and Penny and the whalers had whole families of Inuit live aboard ships or at land based houses.

Sackheuse visited Scotland and the Admiralty sent him back with the expedition of John Ross. Sackheuse on that occasion served as master of ceremonies at the meeting of Ross and the Polar Inuit. Sackheuse provided the interpreting so that Inuit could communicate with whiteman and vice versa. Parry the next year lamented the lack of the services of a Sackheuse. Parry is left to observing the behaviour of the Inuit without understanding the thoughts of those people. Parry commented on Inuit mimicry, curiosity, their dislike of English food and rum, the canoes and the honesty of the Baffin Inuit that he met. He noted, however, that these Inuit had every necessary of life.

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[65] Ibid., p. 93.

Lyon and Parry at Winter Island and Igloolik were able to participate in Inuit life. They went hunting, lived in an igloo, had dog sled rides and had the Inuit visit the ships. Parry administered the first punishment (the lash). Both authors described what they termed gluttony and improvidence. Since Parry and Lyon could tell of Inuit in other areas, they could quickly strike up conversation with Inuit in other areas thus Lyon and Parry found the value of the Inuit familial relationship system useful. By tapping the geographic knowledge of Ayoket, Iligliuk and Toolemak, Lyon and Parry could visualize beyond their own maps.

Lyon, on his next expedition, met Nee-a-kood-loo on Southampton Island. From his meeting with this Sadlermiut one of the few descriptions of the life of the Sadlermiut was rendered.

John Ross described his meeting with the Netsilik in Boothia Peninsula. The Netsilik provided Ross with provisions, transport, geographical information and social intercourse. While Ross attempted to dazzle the Netsilik with his self-proclaimed super powers, the Inuit provided Ross with the image of a well-provided, self-sufficient and very mobile people. For the first time in such latitudes, Englishmen felt their inadequacy and expectantly awaited for the arrival of the Inuit.

Ross, at the end of his stay, even cautioned against criticizing the 'clause of the legislation' without knowing the whole context.

Penny, in looking for the haunts of the whale, found Eenoolooapik who interpreted, guided, and accompanied the former to Tenudiackbeek Bay. Penny, with the aid of information of Eenoolooapik, saw the need for whaling colonies where men would winter in the Arctic lands so that they could utilize freeze-up and break-up periods to good advantage. Europeans recognized that key native personnel were valuable in that they could lead, persuade their own people and interpret.

The wintering that began in Cumberland Sound spread to the whaling sites in Hudson Bay. Now, whalers wintered in the north. Inuit provisions and provisioners became indispensable. Guns and whale boats were handed over to the Inuit and were symbolic of the increasing trust that the Europeans had for the Inuk. Inuit families moved and lived near the boats. Inuit provided transport and were acknowledged as excellent whalemen. The Inuit women provided fur clothes and relaxation. English nicknames became common.

Certain Inuit were chosen to have guns, to serve aboard ship, to have whaleboats, or to have contracts. The chosen Inuk had more repute among his own people. This chosen one had more material wealth. Other Inuit wanted to be like him. So the Inuit became drawn into the European hierarchies.

The images of the first part of the period were of the "curio" type. Inuit were not much better than talking animals but respect grew. The general transition of the image was from curio to employee to partial co-worker. By the 1880's, the whaler had recognized that the Inuit was a prerequisite to security and success in whaling ventures.

Frame of Reference of the Authors of the Journals

The naval personnel with their world view of discipline, orderliness, hierarchy and cleanliness judged according to these criteria the Inuit in the areas visited. Parry regretted the absence of Sackheuse. Ross came to crave Inuit presence and the later whalers found the Inuit to be indispensable for a secure and healthy winter stay. The whalers generally exploited the Inuit women and the Inuit working force.

The Hudson's Bay Company Syren Queen really taught the whalers how to secure and utilize the Inuit services. Both the whaler and the fur trader accepted and sought Inuit service and saw the wisdom of abiding by Inuit practices as far as diet, transport, clothing and housing were concerned. The whalers of Hudson Bay tended to be of Scottish or American descent whereas the earlier expeditions were manned primarily by English sailors.

The Inuit found English names hard to pronounce so they bestowed Inuit names on such as the Rosses. The English and American whaler gave nicknames to the Inuit. The European oriented visitors generously sprinkled English names on all significant geographic points of interest.

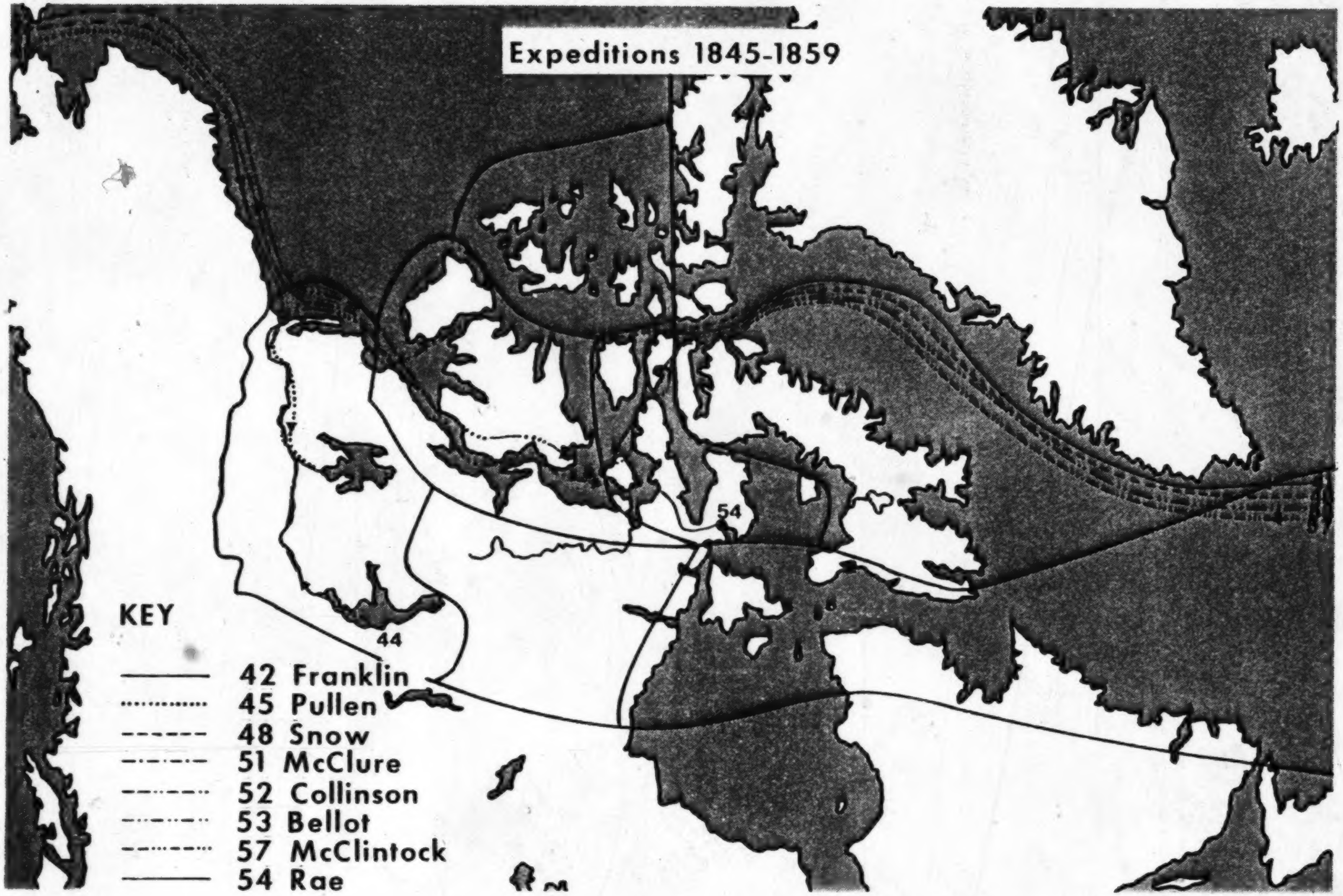
The sailors tended to analyze Inuit life. Certain areas the sailors would appreciate but others such as food habits, housekeeping, and care of women, the aged and the sick, the sailors found revolting. Woman's place to the Englishman was in the home -- women to the Inuit male were absolutely essential as co-workers and fellow travellers.

Relationships: Who Influenced Whom?

The first of the expeditions consisted of visits. Sackheuse visited with the Inuit of the Greenland Ice. Parry and Lyon had the Inuit visit the ships and the crews visited the Inuit igloos. The Inuit settled close to the Fury and Hecla which were in areas not frequented by game and consequently Parry issued bread dust to ease starvation. Parry used flogging in one instance to maintain control. Iligliuk, Ayolet and Toolemak drew charts which allowed the English to envisage another way out of Foxe Basin. When Lyon visited Nee-a-kood-loo, the Sadlermiut tended to prefer flight. More visiting took place with the Rosses in 1829-33. The Inuit guided, provided food and transport and Ross expressed the hope that the Inuit would come to relieve the monotony of Ross's icy prison. Eenoolooapik provided Penny with guiding, interpretive services and advice in establishing whaling colonies. The whalers provided the first serious inroads into affecting Inuit culture, population numbers and distribution of people. The whalers in Hudson Bay depended on the Inuit to hunt, to guide, to clothe, and to transport. The Inuit, on the other hand, were attracted to the whaling centres because they could acquire work, guns, amusement, material goods and prestige among their own people.

In fact, it was absolutely necessary for the wintering whaler to have the Inuit nearby for the provision of fresh meat which prevented the appearance of scurvy. The whaler became dependent on the Inuit for his security and health -- more so than the fur trader depended on the Indian. Moreover, the whaler depended on the Inuit and his dogs for transport over the sea ice in the late fall, winter and early spring. The whaler in the 1880's in Hudson Bay was thus dependent on the Inuit but the Inuit were, at the same time, becoming familiar with the ways and instruments of the whitemen. Because the whaler harbours were situated for the benefit of the ship, not because of the plentitude of game, the Inuit had difficulty when game was scarce -- the whaler at those times provided welfare.

From Inuit rendering service on a chance basis, the circumstances changed over the time period to Inuit providing service on a full-time basis.



Expeditions 1845-1859

KEY
42 Franklin
45 Pullen
48 Snow
51 McClure
52 Collinson
53 Bellot
57 McClintock
54 Rae
54
44

CHAPTER 9

THE INTERPRETER IS THE KEY (1845-1859)

To 1880, and even until today, mystery surrounds the fate of the crews of two ships, the Erebus and the Terror, which sailed under the command of Sir John Franklin in 1845. In this expedition, equipped with the most modern scientific gadgetry, 129 men simply disappeared into the North American Arctic maze. Thereafter began one of the greatest searches ever, and when the search was over the Europeans had charted most of the lower islands of what is now the Canadian Archipelago. The Inuit played an important part in the events that ended the Franklin voyage and in helping to unlock what is presently known of the mystery. The key to the mystery came via interpreters.

One crucial thing this ill-fated expedition lacked -- interpreters. Both Franklin and Francis Crozier, the commanders, knew the value of the item -- both had nearly died without the services of interpreters. Both had a familiarity with the native languages but a Sackheuse, Matonabbee, Thanadelthur, Augustus, Junius, Ooligbuck, Beaulieu, Eenoolooapik or Akaitcho were simply irreplaceable when in northern latitudes and the language spoken by the inhabitants was other than English. That the mystery was solved at all, most of the facts came from the Inuit.[1] If the naval searchers had paid attention to survival techniques, the terrible tragedy need never have happened. But given the mentality of the English involved about Dene and Inuit knowledge, it

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Facing - Map 26. Expeditions 1845-1859.

was predestined that an expedition became lost to the world. Vilhjalmur Stefansson said:

> It is a striking thing that John Rae wintered in Repulse Bay, using only the food and fuel which nature had provided at Repulse Bay, and that he did this within a decade of the time when Sir John Franklin's entire company of able bodied Englishmen, equipped quite as well as Rae's party, starved helplessly and died to the last man in a country as well supplied with food and fuel as was that where Rae spent his winter in comfort. That the country where Franklin's men starved is sufficiently provided with means of subsistence is shown that it was peopled by Eskimo both before and after that great tragedy. At the very time when these Englishmen were dying of hunger there were living all about them Eskimo families who were taking care of their aged and bringing up their children in comparative plenty, unaided by the rifles and other excellent implements which the Englishmen had in abundance.[1]

In several ways, Stefansson overstated his case. Rae was provided or knew enough to provide himself with Ooligbuck, William Ooligbuck, Ivitchuk and Nabitabo. Rae spent time learning Inuit survival techniques at Fort Hope in 1846-47 just as Stefansson had spent almost a year with the Roxy's in 1906-07 or Diamond Jenness' learning activities with the Arksiatark family in 1913. Even Robert Peary had four Inuit with him, plus Mathew Henson when the six reached the North Pole in 1909. Peary's rival, Dr. Cook, had only Etukishook and Awhela with him in his trip to the Pole in the same year as Peary. Unless the expedition commander knew Inuktitut or had capable interpreters, he was disadvantaged. He could not learn about survival techniques from the only teachers that knew -- the Inuit.

One other critical thing that Franklin lacked was that knowledge of how to survive in the Arctic. The pitiful story of the stragglers on

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[1] Stefansson, My Life, p. 305.

King William Island demonstrated the ignorance of the sailors about survival techniques.

Another lack, and this Berger stated when he said, "Euro-Canadian society has refused to take native culture seriously . . . Their [Inuit and Dene] knowledge of the land and its life constitutes distinctive ethno-scientific traditions."[2] What is true in Berger's time was apparently true of the time under consideration. Except for a few individuals, it was not in the European mentality to ask advice from peoples who, the Europeans considered, knew little.

Naked because of these three lacks, Franklin sailed into the middle of the North American Arctic Archipelago. The searchers were similarly disadvantaged but a few were apt learners. The Inuit stood by as observers, in most cases willing to lend aid to both the searched for and the searchers. When asked, the Inuit came up with most of the answers.

(42) The Disappearing Ships: British Naval North-west Passage Expedition: Sir John Franklin, 1845-48

Sir John Franklin's ships, the Erebus and Terror, set out from London on May 19, 1845.[3] They sailed along the western coast of Greenland and were last contacted by the whalers of the Enterprise and the Prince of Wales. At the time, Franklin waited for the ice packs to open up, and then sailed off into Lancaster Sound.

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[2] Berger, op. cit., Vol. I, p. xix.

[3] Cooke, op. cit., p. 174.

(44) The Services of Albert One Eye: British Overland Franklin Search Expedition: Sir John Richardson, 1847-49

Rae, in his 1846-47 expedition, had worried over the non-report of the Franklin expedition. Upon his return from that trip, the British Admiralty had become very agitated. The *Terror* and *Erebus* had supplies for three years but concern had started to infect the press and public. The first Admiralty strategy for search involved Sir James Ross as commander of the *Investigator* and *Enterprise*. These ships were to search Lancaster Sound. Richardson would examine the Mackenzie River mouth and Captain Kellet and Commander Moore would enter the Bering Strait and search to the eastward. Richardson's specific objective, however, was to "trace the coast between the Mackenzie and the Coppermine River plus the shores of Victoria and Wollaston Land lying opposite to Cape Krusenstern."[4]

Four boats and twenty men shipped out from England to York Factory and travelled westward along the routes of the fur trader and reached the Mackenzie mouth by August 3, 1848. En route, Richardson wrote of occurrences in the western Dene section of the present day Northwest Territories. He noted such interesting data as the Churchill River from Ile-a-la-Crosse flowing some 525 miles to the sea. He noted that a Roman Catholic mission had been established in La Crosse in 1846 and that a 'Monsieur Le Fleche' had begun teaching the syllabic alphabet

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[4] John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition: A Journal of a Boat Voyage Through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in Search of Discovery Ships Under the Command of Sir John Franklin. With an Appendix on the Physical Geography of North America*, Vol. 1 (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), p. 91.

to Cree and Chipewyan in the area. These syllabics were those devised by James Evans. It was to this mission that Old Man Beaulieu would bring his family for religious conversion.

When Richardson passed Salt River near the present site of Fort Smith, he obtained salt from this same Francois Beaulieu, the descendent of the Beaulieu that went with Mackenzie to the Pacific Ocean in 1793, and the same Beaulieu who was guide and hunter to the Second Franklin expedition (1826). Beaulieu built a house at the mouth of the Salt River. Richardson continued on the Beaulieu subject thus:

> . . . his sons procure abundance of deer and bison meat on the salt plains, which these animals frequent in numbers, from their predeliction for that mineral; and the Slave River yields plenty of good fish at certain seasons . . . A limestone cave in the neighbourhood . . . supplies Beaulieu ice all summer, and he gave us a lump to cool water . . . Indeed, I believe that he turns his residence on the boat route to good account, as few parties pass without giving him a call.[5]

So Francois Beaulieu II, or Old Man Beaulieu, had now established himself as a free enterprising provider or hosteler. He had been guide, interpreter, cartographer, organizer of tours, hunter and bully for the North West Company. Since he later became a centenarian, there were other notches that Beaulieu could carve on this occupational gun. Beaulieu linked together by his presence events from 1793 to the 1880's.

Richardson also made note of a happening in the "Many Years War" on the borders of Great Slave Lake. Just beyond Fort Resolution, at the mouth of the Slave River, lay an island called "Dead Man's Island." Thirty years before, the bones of the dead men were discerned but by 1848 the bones had disappeared. Apparently, a war party of Beaver

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[5] Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 149-50.

Indians had surprised a body of Dogrib who had encamped on this island and had destroyed them -- thus the name. Add this fact to the troubles between the rival fur trade companies and the Dogrib and Slave attack on the Yellowknives and the years 1818 and into the 20's were seen as turbulent years in the Great Slave Lake area.

Farther down the Mackenzie, Richardson learned of trouble between the Inuit and Kutchin in 1847. Three Inuit were killed by the Kutchin according to the report. The hostilities and trade between Kutchin and Inuit had been intermittent. The Kutchin, Richardson learned, had the advantage of firepower since they were closer to fur trade suppliers. The Kutchin and the Inuit traditionally met at Point Separation. Because of the trade, many of the Kutchin spoke Inuktitut and jealously guarded their role as middlemen. Undoubtedly, the Inuit made efforts soon after to establish direct trade relations with the fur trader.[6]

Richardson cited an occasion reported by Pullen wherein two Hudson's Bay Company officers landed with a party of Kutchin at Point Separation in 1850. Soon after the Inuit approached in kayaks. The Canadians would have fired but were restrained by their Kutchin allies. The leading Inuit fired his arrows into the sand to show his good intent. His sign of friendship only resulted in the Canadian firing on the Inuit and in the resulting melee the Inuit were all killed.[7]

When he arrived at the mouth of the Mackenzie, Richardson

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[6] Ibid., p. 217.

[7] Ibid., p. 217.

"endeavoured to stimulate his men to an active look-out, by promising ten pounds to the first man who should announce the discovery ships."[8] Along with Rae, the party included Albert One Eye, an Inuit interpreter. When the inevitable pursuit began, between the travellers and the Inuit of the Mackenzie mouth, Albert could report what the pursuing individuals were saying, even though Albert had been raised on East Main, on the eastern shores of James Bay. These two areas are some twenty-five hundred miles apart. Richardson had to aim rifles at the Mackenzie River Inuit to keep them at bay.[9]

Richardson commented on the four interpreters he had known: Augustus, Ooligbuck, Junius and Albert One Eye. Said he:

> The few interpreters of the nation that I have been acquainted with were strictly honest and adhered rigidly to the truth; and I have every reason to believe that within their own community the rights of property are held in great respect, even the hunting grounds of families being kept sacred. Yet their [Inuit] covetousness of the property of strangers, and their dexterity in thieving are remarkable and they seem to have most of the vices as well as the virtues of the Norwegian Vikings.[10]

The two Inuit groups that irritated the Victorian gentlemen most were these Mackenzie Inuit [the Tchiglit of Father Petitot] and those along the north side of Hudson Strait. If natives thieved or did not keep their promises, these criteria determined the stage of their civilization for the Victorian visitors.

However, the expedition laboured along the coast to 130 degrees

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[8] Ibid., p. 225.

[9] Ibid., p. 239.

[10] Ibid., pp. 243-44.

West Near Cape Brown. Richardson made his Admiralty advised inquiry, "Have you seen any large ships lately?" And Richardson gave the standard reply of the people:

> These people like the other parties we had previously communicated with, declared that no large ships nor boats had been seen on their coasts, and that we were the first white men they had ever beheld. I could not discover that any remembrance of my visit to their shores twenty-three years previously existed among any of the parties I saw on the present voyage, though I never failed to question them closely on the subject.[11]

This message, repeated over and over again, convinced Richardson that Franklin had not passed that way. The party reached Coppermine and returned to Fort Confidence.

But Richardson had some noteworthy comments to make over the twenty-seven years that he had been associated with the north. He was the first to define the term "inu-it" as the people and Inuk as man.[12] It was Richardson who quoted Von Baer's analogy of the Inuit to the Phoenicians. Von Baer said that in early times the Inuit traversed the eastern coasts of America, as far south as the present state of Massachusetts and continued:

> There the Scandinavian discoverers of Vinland (Rhode Island) had many skirmishes with the Skrelling, whose identity with the Eskimos Von Baer considers as established by the recorded descriptions of their personal appearance and dress, and the appelation given to them being the same as applied to the Greenlanders.[13]

Along with this ancient and recurring theme of the Skraeling, Richardson told how he worked with Augustus for a whole winter in 1825 at Fort Franklin compiling a dictionary of Inuit words, how he lost that dictionary but how he borrowed one from the Moravian missions in Greenland. Richardson understood the value of the travellers knowing the language and undoubtedly he passed the attitude on to Rae who was already versed from his 1846-47 expedition.

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[11] Ibid., p. 261.

[12] Ibid., p. 351.

[13] Ibid., p. 351.

But Richardson made other comments on the background of the Dene as well. He described the Inuit as being rather restricted to the coast whereas the Dene he considered as "people who pursue the chase over tracts of country hundreds of miles in diameter."[14] The Dene, said Richardson, do not have a strict right of a family to a hunting ground as do the Inuit. Several tribes of Dene may hunt on the same ground, he pointed out, and:

> Thus our presence at Fort Confidence was sufficient to determine various bands of Hare Indians, Dog-ribs and Martin Lake Indians, to resort to the north-eastern arm of Great Bear Lake; and but for a deadly feud with the Dogribs, which twenty years ago greatly reduced the numbers of our old friends, the Copper Indians, we should have their company also. The Eskimos, on the contrary, have a strong respect for their territorial rights, and maintain them with firmness. We learned at Cape Bathurst, that each head of a small community had a right to the point of land on which his winter house or cluster of houses stood, and to the hunting grounds in its vicinity.[15]

Small wonder, if this be true, that two peoples, with such a basic difference of value for hunting rights, should have clashing differences of opinion.

Richardson had time during the winter at Fort Confidence to consolidate some of his notes on the Dene. He indicated:

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[14] Ibid., p. 351.

[15] Ibid., pp. 351-52.

> The Hare Indians (Ka-cho-'dtinnè) inhabit the banks of the Mackenzie, from Slave Lake downwards, and the Dogribs (thling-è-ha-'dtinnè) the inland country on the east, from Martin Lake to the Coppermine . . . To the eastward of the Dog-ribs are the Red Knives, named by their southern neighbours the T santse-at-'dtinne (Birch Rind People). They inhabit a stripe of country running northward from Great Slave Lake, and in breadth from the Great Fish River to the Coppermine . . . other members of the 'Tinne nation inhabit the country at the mouth of the Missinipi, and carry their furs to Fort Churchill . . . a wide tract of barren land intervenes between the Churchill Tinne and the Red Knives, and the tribes on the Slave and Elk Rivers which resort to Fort Chepewyan . . . Part of these wandering solitary people resort at intervals of two or three years to Churchill for supplies, and part to Fort Chepewyan, where, from the direction in which they came, they are named Sa-i-sa'dtinné (Eastern or Rising Sun People) . . . The name Chipewyan . . . had . . . the origin in the contempt felt by the warlike Crees . . . whom they oppressed by their inroads, before commerce introduced peace between them. Chi-pai-uk-'tin (you dead dog) is a most opprobrious epithet. The appellation of "slave," given to the Dogribs by the same people, whose war parties penetrated to the banks of the Mackenzie has a similar origin.[16]

Richardson's comments confirmed the location of Hare, Dogrib, Yellowknife and Chipewyan with locations given by other authors of earlier journals. He made no mention of Akaitcho dying and so it may be interpreted that Simpson heard a false report of Akaitcho's death. He indicated that some Chipewyan still made the journey down the Churchill River to Fort Prince of Wales.

(45) War on an Arctic Front: British Naval Franklin Search Expedition: Thomas E. L. Moore, 1845-52

Both the Pullen and Hooper journals dealt with Dene and Inuit. Pullen, at Point Barrow, wrote that the Alaskan Inuit helped him decide on his strategy. Pullen stated: "I learned from the Eskimos that the ice was open for boats the whole way along the coast; with their information which I have generally found correct."[17]

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[16] Ibid., p. 351.

Just as Simpson and Franklin had difficulty with the Inuit along this coast, so had Pullen. On the first meeting with the Inuit, Pullen missed a shovel and labelled the thief as "Shovel Jack." Only with difficulty could Pullen extricate his party from the Inuit. The Inuit followed the eastward progress of the boats. Pullen cited that five umiaks with a total of eighty-five persons harrassed the progress of the boats. Finally, Pullen landed near Cape Beechey and there among the Inuit who had pursued was Shovel Jack. Pullen drew a boundary mark in the sand over which the Inuit were not to step. The tension between the two groups rose. Pullen remarked:

> I felt very unwilling to come to extremes with these people, because if blood should once be shed, there was no knowing where the matter would end; and as they might take an indiscriminate revenge on any weak party of Europeans who might happen to travel in that direction, I considered it better to get out of their way if possible.[18]

Pullen was convinced that if the Europeans let down their guard, the Inuit would attack. Pullen had no interpreter but he considered that he was able to judge intent by gesture. But all the Inuit were not hostile, he detected. Hooper was able to identify a friendly few and said, "Our usual endeavour to obtain intelligence was employed; a rude model of a vessel again constructed, and with other signs in requisition; but these efforts were unrewarded with success."[19] It can be appreciated how difficult communication was for both groups by the strategy employed. In the main, however, Hooper accused the Inuit of being treacherous in every act.[20]

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[17] D. Murray Smith, Arctic Expeditions From British and Foreign Shores From Earliest Times to the Expedition of 1875-76 (Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, 1877), p. 445.

[18] Ibid., p. 451.

[19] William Hulme Hooper, Ten Months Among the Tents of the Tuski, With Incidents of an Arctic Boat Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, as Far as the Mackenzie River and Cape Bathurst (London: John Murray, 1853), p. 240.

Hooper gave some reason for what he called truculence of the Inuit. He stated that the "Indians and Esquimaux are still as great enemies as when Dease and Simpson made their excursions (1837-39) some thirteen years earlier." Hooper cited an occasion when Dene and Inuit had been on amicable terms and had even hunted together. A few Indians, on this occasion, were missing and the Dene began to assert that the Inuit had destroyed them. After the two groups parted, the Indians returned and attacked the Inuit.[21]

Hooper cited a case which had happened four or five years previously wherein fifteen to twenty Inuit entered the Peel River mouth, on the shores of which were three men, their wives and children. Only a boy of nine years of age escaped the Inuit killing and he managed to get to a Company fort. The Inuit continued up the Peel River and just before Fort McPherson they encountered Le Bourreau or 'Vayd-sick-ychah' (the deer's brother). Le Bourreau realized that something was wrong, felled the Inuit chief and one other. Le Bourreau remained on the field while the Inuit fled. Le Bourreau performed a type of dissection on the Inuit and, of course, the story got back to the Inuit. The latter vowed they would kill five Kutchin for the death of their chief.[22]

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[20] Ibid., p. 272.

[21] Ibid., p. 273.

[22] Ibid., pp. 269-70.

This was the state of affairs into which Hooper and Pullen had moved. The Dene had access to the Hudson's Bay Company forts and thus had guns. It was natural for the Inuit, argued Hooper, to associate the companionship of Dene and European as symptomatic of alliance.

When Pullen and Hooper eventually got to Fort McPherson, Alexander Mackenzie, the factor, informed the Englishmen that the Company's forts could not sustain such a large party of sailors and that the crew would have to be divided among the major posts in the area, namely Fort McPherson, Fort Norman and Fort Franklin for the winter of 1849-50.

While in the area of Fort McPherson, Hooper related another encounter between the Kutchin and the Inuit. Four white men, four Metis (Manuel Herbert, McKay, Sanderson, Brown) and two Indians in 1850 encountered an Inuit at Point Separation. Manuel wanted to fire immediately on the Inuit but McKay made him desist. Fourteen Kutchin joined the party and other Inuit approached. The Inuit fired their arrows into the sand to show they were disarmed and then even disrobed. The two groups proceeded to have a dance but Manuel began firing at the Inuit and the Kutchin followed his lead. Said Hooper:

> . . . henceforth the Whiteman will be included in the undying vengeance of the injured Esquimaux, who will seek - can we say unreasonably? - opportunities for clearing off the score of revenge. Woe be to detached parties, or solitary stragglers, who may fall in their way; a short shrift will be their lot, and we warned the scanty garrison of Peel River to have a care, lest, unarmed and unprepared, they should someday be surprised by a retaliatory band.[23]

Hooper thus gave reasons why the Inuit may have been unduly suspicious of later parties. Hooper, however, had great propensity to record all the murders, violence, starvation and cannibalism which he heard of among the Inuit and Dene. Rae commented:

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[23] Ibid., p. 373.

> These self-sufficient donkies come into this country, see the Indians sometimes miserably clad and half-starved, the causes of which they never think of inquiring into, but place it all to the credit of the company.[24]

In other words, Hooper sensationalized his accounts to make for good reading for his European audience. Rae considered this to reflect on the conduct of the company -- others might consider it as forcing the reader to reflect favourably on Hooper's own achievements. He did all this without the aid of an interpreter which meant that the Inuit and Dene accounts were not taken into consideration. The visitors were becoming critical of the state of affairs of native people and were casting about for blame. Rae, characteristically, came to the defence of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(47) "For Lack of a(n) . . . interpreter!" William Penny, Robert Goodsir, and Captain Parker, 1849

Robert Goodsir, who accompanied Parker, was brother to a member of the Franklin crew, whereas Penny knew of the value of consultation with the observant Inuit. The leaders of this 1849 expedition thus had good motivation and the best possible attitudes for their search.

Goodsir, in his journal, gave details of the state of whaling in the Cumberland Sound area. He told how, in 1819, fourteen ships were lost, in 1821 eleven, in 1822 seven and then total disaster struck in

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[24] Neatby, Search For Sir John Franklin, op. cit., p. 113.

1830. In that year nineteen vessels were lost and twelve seriously damaged. Some one thousand men had to be consigned to the ice and thereon was held the Baffin Fair. The men had managed to salvage the rum and they whiled their time away in festivities. But there is a sober note as well. Some of the boats filled with men from the ice landed at Cape York in Greenland. This is what they saw:

> A short distance from the shore they perceived some Esquimaux huts. Advancing, they were rather astonished at the unusual stillness which reigned around them, they missed the usual vociferous greetings of the natives, as well as the noisy howlings of the half-fed dogs. The very snow before the entrances of the miserable skin huts was unbroken and unstained . . . when entering the huts, they found their inmates stark and stiff. At first they thought them to be asleep, but the sunken eyeballs, and the uncovered lipless teeth, proved that even the cold of this desolate region could not for ever arrest the finger of decay. Hut after hut, of the three or four, presented the same spectacle, each containing four or five lifeless bodies, old and young, all evidently long dead. What had caused this mortality could not be learned, it had not been from starvation, for their usual food was lying about in abundance. Neither could it be ascertained whether any had escaped the strange fate of their companions . . . Even the rough Greenland sailor, when telling me, nineteen years after, spoke gently and quietly of it.[25]

The theme of the disappearance of the Greenland colonies kept recurring. Here was a postlude to the disappearance -- a mysterious cause among the Inuit and reminiscent of that earlier event.

Goodsir commented on even earlier events when he visited three stone pillars with runic inscriptions with the date 1135, on Women's Island, Greenland. Said Goodsir:

> From this eastern coast of Baffin's Bay the colonists very regularly visited Lancaster Sound, and a part of Barrow's Straits, for purposes of fishing more than six centuries before the

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[25] Robert Anstruther Goodsir, An Arctic Voyage to Baffin's Bay and Lancaster Sound, in Search of Friends With Sir John Franklin (London: John Van Voorst), pp. 610-11.

> adventurous voyage of Parry. The locality of the fishery is very distinctly described, and priests from Greenland, from the bishopric of Gardar, conducted the first voyage of discovery.[26]

Goodsir restated a theme documented earlier that trading, whaling, surveying and missionary work on the part of the Norse Europeans antedated the efforts of the Spanish, Elizabethans and the Hudson's Bay Company in the Americas.

But Goodsir with his predilection for history, Penny with his tendency to ask of the Inuit and Parker, the communicator of a garbled story of shipwrecked men, brought the search little closer to focus. Parker's news to the Admiralty was cheering but not accurate. The essence of his news was:

> . . . some Esquimaux . . . had sketched a chart, and pointed out . . . where both Sir John Franklin's and Sir James Ross' ships were lying, the former being at Whaler Point, the latter at Port Jackson at the entrance to Prince Regent's Inlet. Sir James Ross had travelled in sledges from his own ship to Sir John Franklin's. They were all alive and well. The Esquimaux himself had been on board all four ships three months ago . . . Mr. Parker seemed confident as to the correctness of this information.[27]

In all fairness to the Inuit, their stories did have the elements of fact but the onus was on the hearer as well as the speaker. There were no fluent interpreters aboard Penny or Parker's ships. Stefansson said he knew of only three whitemen who were competent interpreters: himself, Diamond Jenness and Carl Petersen. He said:

> . . . Eskimo is not only an exceeding complicated language, but also very different from English. To put it roughly, there is no doubt that for an Englishman it would be much easier to acquire Russian, Swedish, French, and Greek than to acquire Eskimo

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[26] Ibid., p. 40 Fn.

[27] Goodsir, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

> alone . . . I had a book of knowledge of the Eskimo before going to the North and I have lived for five years in houses where nothing but Eskimo was spoken. I listened to every word with all my ears, for to acquire the language has been both my chief work and my chief pastime, and yet it was only the last of the five winters that my command of the language had become such that I could follow without effort the ordinary conversations going on in the house.[28]

Sir James Ross was searching the north coast of Somerset Island in 1849. Sir John Franklin did spend the winter of 1845-46 at Beechey Island which is just across the Barrow Strait. Franklin's men were active in searching the surrounding area. The fantasy part of visiting ships may just as well have been supplied by the imperfectly equipped listener as the speakers. On his next expedition, Penny acquired Carl Peterson as interpreter. Parker's message, in the meantime, spurred the English speaking public and the Admiralty to even greater search efforts.

(48) The Lesser Interpreters -- Erasmus York and Adam Beck: British Franklin Search Expedition: Charles C. Forsyth, and William P. Snow, 1850

The first rescue attempts having signally failed, governments on both sides of the Atlantic began renewed efforts to organize the search. By 1849, the Franklin expedition had been gone four years. At least five new expeditions were organized.

Two of the five expeditions had interpreters. At last the Admiralty was beginning to take its own advice seriously. The Admiralty had published a phrase book; one of the phrases was "Have you seen any large ships lately?" in Inuktitut. With Collinson and McClure was Johann

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[28] Stefansson, My Life, op. cit., p. 359.

Miertsching while Penny had hired Johann Carl Christian Petersen. Petersen was a Dane and he was destined to serve with the Lady Franklin in 1850-51, the Advance in 1853-55 and the Fox in 1857-59. Petersen got the Silver Cross of the Order of Dannebrog and the Royal Swedish Medal of Merit in gold -- the only Arctic interpreter ever so honoured by the European nations. Petersen had been deputy governor of the settlement of Upernavik, Snow states.[29] He was married to a 'half breed Dane-Esquimaux' and had two children.

On the way to their assignment about Somerset Island, Snow and Forsyth visited the "Arctic Highlanders" of Sir John Ross. Among them, Snow met Caloosa. Caloosa came from Cape York and was eighteen to twenty years of age. Caloosa eventually became a guide and interpreter for Captain Ommaney aboard the Assistance. Because he came from Cape York, he adopted the surname York. When he became baptized he took the Christian name Erasmus. The Caloosa talked of by Snow is really the Kallihirua spoken of by T. B. Murray in Kalli, the Esquimaux Christian[30] or Erasmus York in other journals. Later, Kallihirua [Kalahierua] attended St. Augustine's School in England and died in Newfoundland in 1856.

When the Prince Albert came near Cape York, a companion of Kallihirua, named Cheepchow, brought a message from Penny. Snow called Cheepchow the Arctic postman[31] which added one more service of Inuit to the searchers. After leaving Cape York and crossing Baffin Bay, Adam Beck, interpreter to John Ross, intimated to Snow that the Cape York Inuit had told him that:

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[29] Snow, op. cit., p. 230.

[30] T. B. Murray, Kalli, the Esquimaux Christian. A Memoir, 2nd ed (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1857).

[31] Cooke, op. cit., p. 398.

> . . . two vessels with officers having gold bands on their caps and other insignia of the royal uniform, had been in some way or other destroyed at some place to the northward of us; that the crews were ultimately much enfeebled; and after great hardship and suffering, encamping by themselves in tents, and not communicating much with the natives, who were not friendly to them, were all brutally massacred.[32]

Snow reported the story to Captain Ommaney, Austin and Forsyth. Ross was called in and it was decided to contact Penny and have him and his interpreter, Carl Petersen, interview the Cape York Inuit. Ross believed what Beck had said but the other captains wanted corroboration. Penny and Petersen were dispatched back to Cape York. Petersen found in doing this that the only like incident was that of the North Star, a whaler, which had wintered at Wolstenholme Sound during the past winter. One man had fallen from the cliff and hurt himself. Beck could not come up with an adequate explanation, so he was branded a fabricator by all captains except Ross. Beck later met C. F. Hall and gave the latter his side of the story which included calling Petersen a liar. Dr. Kane's expedition later sailed through Smith Sound to investigate Beck's story.

At Cape Riley, Snow and Forsyth found a note from Captain Ommaney indicating that his squadron had evidence that Franklin wintered at Beechey Island. The squadron returned to England with this information. The first definite clue had been found as to the whereabouts of the lost expedition but the evidence was supplied by the Inuit and collected by the interpreters.

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[32] Snow, op. cit., p. 52.

(49) "Merryandrew Tricks and Books on the Sterility Around Them:" British Naval Franklin Search Expedition: Horatio Thomas Austin, 1850-51

Sherard Osborne's journal,[33] which described the voyages of H.M.S. Resolute, Assistance and Pioneer, had little to say about the Inuit and could report little on the whereabouts of the Terror and Erebus. The expedition established that Franklin had wintered at Beechey Island during the winter of 1845-46 but beyond that all four ships plus those of the first Grinnell expedition could report little new information about Franklin, not even new geographic information. The Admiralty had chosen to ignore its own orders to Franklin to search for passage south of Barrow Strait, and instead had ordered the squadron to concentrate on Barrow Strait itself. Neither Franklin nor his ships were there.

Richard King, that tart tongued companion to Back in 1833-35, said it well, if strongly, when he wrote: "With a sea party, such as the Admiralty have proposed, the time will be spent in acting plays and other merryandrew tricks that the officers may make a book out of the sterility around them."[34]

Osborne's journal illustrated King's point very well. Indeed,

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[33] Sherard Osborne, Stray Leaves From an Arctic Journal; or Eighteen Months in the Polar Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin's Expedition, in the Years 1850-51 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, 1852).

[34] King to Barrow, January 31, 1845, or Richard King, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Arctic Ocean in 1833, 1834 and 1835, Under the Command of Captain Back, R.N., 2 Vol (London: Richard Bentley, 1836), pp. 188-94.

King's point could well be extended to include overland expeditions as well, unless those expeditions made provision for contact with the people of the country. Without this contact, the overlanders might be compared to tourists who saw the sights but isolated themselves from the indigenous people. The product of both types of expedition were books but no new information.

Only Collinson and McClure remained in the field in 1852. The Admiralty had to make new plans for another assault to find Franklin.

(50) Seeing the Country But Not Talking to the Countrymen: Hudson's Bay Company Franklin Search Expedition, 1850-51

What Penny was to whalers, Rae was to the fur trader. The Hudson's Bay Company decided to renew an attempt to search the area from Coppermine to and including Victoria Island. Penny never did much writing and Rae's reports had the terseness of a police bulletin.

Having learned his lessons in Arctic land travel in 1846-47, and honed them in 1847-49, Rae set out from Fort Providence on April 15, 1851 with two men. He reached the Coppermine, crossed over to Victoria Island, interviewed a few scattered bands of Copper Inuit, and charted the entire Victoria Island southern coast. Geographically speaking, Rae made a successful trip but to the knowledge of the fate or whereabouts of Sir John Franklin, Rae could only report that Franklin had not entered the areas that Rae had visited.[35]

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[35] John Rae, "Journey from Great Bear Lake to Wollaston Lans," Royal Geographical Society Journal, 22 (1852), 82-96; and "Recent Explorations Along the South and East Coast of Victoria Land," Royal Geographical Society Journal, 22 (1852), 82-96; and "Arctic Exploration With Information Respecting Sir John Franklin's Missing Party," Royal Geographical Society Journal, 25 (1855), 246-56.

Rae's critics did question the fact that he had not visited known Inuit areas of settlement and therefore provided no information on the fate of Franklin.

(51) An Interpreter Through a North West Passage: British Naval Franklin Search: Robert John Le Mesurier McClure, 1850-54

Three narratives described the voyage of the Investigator commanded by Robert John Le Mesurier McClure. McClure's own journal was edited by Sherard Osborne. Johann Miertsching's diary was edited by L. H. Neatby, and Alexander Armstrong's personal narrative completed the set utilized to describe McClure's 1850-54 expedition.

The Admiralty had assigned command of a squadron of two ships to Richard Collinson, but McClure either by accident or design had not been able to meet with Collinson in the upper Pacific. The two ships had the assignment of rounding Cape Horn and approaching the central Arctic from the west. Of Collinson and McClure, the latter had an advantage in that he had the able Moravian Miertsching to meet and talk with the Inuit -- Collinson had no interpreter.

By August 12, McClure was situated near Barter Island on the Alaskan coast. McClure, Armstrong and Miertsching landed and met Attua (Attawa), the chief, and his people. Attua possessed a rifle with the words 'Barnett London, 1840' engraved on the stock. Of the three accounts by the Europeans, Miertsching gave the most details of Attua. Apparently, the latter had three wives and thirteen children.[36] His people had not seen Europeans before.[37] McClure felt that Attua had led the attack on Pullen in 1848 and that he had caused Captain Mcguire trouble on the occasion of the latter's visit.[38] Certainly, Attua was always on his best behaviour while Miertsching was present. The fact that Miertsching could talk with Attua and explain the situation undoubtedly acted as soother and pacifier.

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[36] Leslie H. Neatby, ed., Frozen Ships. The Arctic Diary of Miertsching 1850-54, translated and with introduction and notes by L. H. Neatby (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1967), p. 45.

On August 24, 1850, near Point Warren on the eastern outlet of the Mackenzie and the first sector of British America visited, McClure landed. Reception was cool as the following indicated:

> Two of them [the Inuit] yelled and shouted, waving a knife in declaration of war and threatening even with bow and arrow. Every method which had hitherto been considered of avail in propitiating the good-will of the Esquimaux, was made in vain, until at last Mr. Miertsching, attired as one of themselves, succeeded in assuring them of the good intentions of their visitors, and that they neither contemplated robbing or murdering them, - a pleasant contingency which they evidently considered likely to arise on a visit from 'Kabloonas' or white men.[39]

Miertsching, the last weapon in the white man's arsenal of diplomacy, was the coup de grâce. He quieted the Inuit when they noted that some of the boat crew had rifles. From old Kairoluak (the chief of the region), Miertsching learned that these people had friendly relations and trade with Attua and his people, that they had little to do with the Dene and the whitemen of the Mackenzie and tried to avoid the whitemen because of the 'water' they provided which killed many of them and made them do silly things.[40] Dr. Armstrong did the best he could to provide medical attention to Kairoluak's son who had broken a leg and in which infection had set in.

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[37] Robert John Le Mesurier McClure, The North-west Passage. Captain M'Clures Dispatches From Her Majesty's Discovery Ship, "Investigator" Off Point Warren and Cape Bathurst (Edmonton: Hurtig Reprint, 1969), p. 73.

[38] Ibid., p. 362.

[39] Ibid., p. 86.

When Miertsching had to leave the Investigator, when that ship was finally abandoned, he did not take his journal nor did those who returned to the ship [McClure] ever find it. Some say that McClure suppressed the journal, so Miertsching had to remember what had happened with the aid of McClure's notes. Even at that, Miertsching remembered such names as Kairoluak and what the people called themselves (tujormiuts) whereas these details were absent in both the works of Armstrong and McClure.[41]

Fog had forced the Europeans to terminate the discussion with Kairoluak at what Neatby claims to be Tuktoyaktuk.[42] At Liverpool Bay, near Cape Bathurst, McClure made an attempt to contact Inuit so that the latter could inform the Hudson's Bay men of the passing of the Investigator. Richardson had given good report of the Inuit in the vicinity in 1848 and this time of meeting proved cordial again. The small boats of the Investigator were met by two women, Kunatsiack and Renalik, who informed Miertsching that the men were whale 'fishing.' The ship went on to Cape Bathurst and there Miertsching went through the difficult process of establishing relations. The Inuits came forward brandishing weapons and crying out. McClure muttered, "What do we do?

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[40] McClure, op. cit., p. 87.

[41] Neatby, op. cit., p. 53.

[42] Ibid., pp. 171-72.

What do we do?." Miertsching buttoned his Inuit dress, left his rifle but took his revolver. He ran toward the line of Inuit, noted their threatening attitude towards this move, fired his revolver and got the desired silence. Then he explained the reason for the visit. McClure and he met Kenalualik who promised to take a letter to the Hudson's Bay station.[43]

Miertsching always questioned the Inuit as to their beliefs. He told them a little of his own religion and Kenalualik was intrigued. Kenalualik even offered to give his sixteen year old daughter, whom Miertsching described as having a lovely appearance, if Miertsching would only stay but McClure beckoned and Miertsching described how the people lined the shore "wishing us a thousand aksasijy [farewells]."[44]

The above set formula was a recipe of what usually happened when whitemen and Inuit met if there were interpreters present. If people understood what was happening and were able to communicate then the misunderstandings did not crop up. Many Europeans of the time would not recognize that the Inuit worked on their own rational basis. If the Inuit knew and agreed to what was happening, then no trouble would occur. The fact that the Inuit were a 'civilized' people acting on rational principles of their own had not dawned on the European mind.

Miertsching commented that among these people that there were "A number of them [that] have brown hair and blue eyes."[45] Here lay shades of the Oleson thesis and Stefansson's blond Eskimos. As the Europeans saw the Inuit as having characteristics like their own, then they began to speculate on Inuit and European common origins.

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[43] Neatby, Frozen Ships, op. cit., p. 59.

[44] Ibid., p. 60.

[45] Ibid., p. 61.

McClure said of the Bathurst people:

> Cape Bathurst was to the Investigator, in her long voyage, what Otaheite was in the olden days to our circumnavigators. The skill in delineating the outlines of the coast, or chart drawing, which has been so often mentioned by navigators as existing amongst the Esquimaux, was really found here; but nothing could be learnt of what lay to the north . . . "That is the land of the White Bear."[46]

While on a sledge trip, Lieutenant Haswell fell in with a group of Inuit at a place called Berkley Point on the west coast of Victoria Island. McClure and Miertsching visited these friendly people and again the routine occurred with Miertsching explaining, extending his hands in friendship and the people reciprocating. McClure asked for information about Franklin. Miertsching inquired into the state of the people's belief. Again the people showed their proficiency with cartography and charted the coast accurately south to Dolphin and Union Strait. By June 2, 1851, McClure and Miertsching bid their adieux.[47]

The Investigator reached to within 40 kilometers of Melville Sound along Prince of Wales Strait. Ice stopped the advance so McClure proceeded south and made an attempt to reach Melville around the west end of Banks Island and finally was iced in at Mercy Bay on the north coast of Banks. Lieutenant Pim of the Resolute contacted McClure and the Investigator was abandoned on June 3, 1853.

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[46] McClure, op. cit., p. 34.

[47] Ibid., p. 188.

(51A) The Arctic: Inuit Mine of Resources or Graveyard of Ships: British Naval Franklin Search: Edward Belcher, Sherard Osborne, Henry Kellett, Francis Leopold McClintock, 1852-54

The Admiralty in 1852 appointed officers such as Parry, James Ross, Richardson, Beechey, Sabine, McClintock and Back to an Arctic Council to give advice on the Franklin search. Five more ships were sent out. Edward Belcher, chosen as squadron commander, said Richard King had "spent his whole life in proving his total unfitness for so honourable an appointment."[48] The end result of the expedition was that the area about Lancaster, Barrow and Melville Sounds became known and that the ships of Franklin were not in the areas searched.

Not only was the Arctic Archipelago strewn with anglicized names, it was also cluttered with abandoned ships. The Investigator, the Resolute, Pioneer, Assistance, and the Intrepid, not counting the Fury, the Victory plus the Erebus and Terror, had been abandoned and could have been floating about the Arctic seaways. If the reader's mind swims at the thought, he will agree that this is a heavy load for an oral tradition to handle. If it was difficult for Inuit minds to grasp and perhaps led to some conflicting stories, this is understandable. The wrecks, however, provided valuable salvage for the Inuit.

In 1855, after some nine years of search, only Rae had come up with a definite clue and that was based on Inuit report.

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[48] Neatby, Search for Franklin, op. cit., p. 198.

(53) A Breakthrough of Sorts: British Franklin Search Expedition: William Kennedy and Joseph Rene Bellot, 1851-52

Lady Franklin selected William Kennedy (1814-1870) and Joseph Rene Bellot as leaders of a private expedition that was to search Prince Regent Inlet (which is a misnomer because it has an outlet through Fury and Hecla Straits).

Kennedy had been brought up at Cumberland House, a Hudson's Bay post on the Saskatchewan River, by his Cree mother, Agathas.[49] Franklin had stayed at this particular post and had attempted to teach the boy Kennedy his ABC's. Kennedy had grown up and served as a fur trader in Quebec. Kennedy had learned much from the Inuit and was specifically knowledgeable about Indian and Inuit modes of travel.[50] Kennedy felt incensed at the treatment of his mother and the continued use of alcohol in the fur trade. Kennedy had been brought up in the Calvinist tradition, had been educated in Scotland, and felt a special responsibility to hunt for Franklin.

Bellot, a young French officer, also admired Franklin and found John Hepburn, who had served in the first Franklin expedition, in the service of the Prince Albert.

Kennedy was the first to experiment with combined Indian/Inuit methods of survival. His crew learned to use snowshoes and snow houses. Seal skin clothing was utilized. The sledging parties hunted game as they travelled and were fed on pemmican. (Kennedy had one and one half tons of pemmican aboard.)[51] Kennedy used Indian sledges and the Indian mode of connecting dogs to the sledges.

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[49] Rasky, Polar Voyagers, op. cit., p. 75.

[50] Rasky, op. cit., Vol II, p. 75; also, E. C. Shaw, Modern English Biography (London: Frank Cass, 1970).

Inuit came aboard the Prince Albert at Pond Inlet and drew with a piece of chalk "a very correct delineation of the Inlet, leading out of Pond's Bay as far as Navy Board Inlet, and again Admiralty Inlet for a considerable distance inland."[52] This constituted a map of the entire north end of Baffin Island.

The Prince Albert wintered at Prince Leopold Harbour on Somerset Island. Bellot wanted to go south to meet the Inuit of John Ross on Boothia Peninsula but Kennedy disapproved. Bellot argued that the loss of 129 Europeans as news would travel fast among the Inuit and that the Inuit would provide answers. "For my part," said Bellot, "I attach great importance to this enquiry."[53] Bellot was the first of the Europeans on active duty to recognize the source for seeking intelligence about Franklin as well as knowing the area in which this intelligence might be gained. What the expedition would have done for an interpreter, even had they met the Netsilik or Boothia Inuit, makes an interesting question.

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[51] William Kennedy, A Short Narrative of the Second Voyage of the Prince Albert in Search of Sir John Franklin (London: W. H. Dalton, 1853), p. 39.

[52] Ibid., p. 54.

[53] Joseph Rene Bellot, Memoirs of Lieutenant Joseph Rene Bellot . . . With His Journal of a Voyage in the Polar Seas, in Search of Sir John Franklin, 2 Vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1855), Vol II, p. 159.

Bellot tragically lost his life on an ice floe on another Arctic expedition but Kennedy revealed what could be done if only Europeans would adopt native travel and survival tactics.

(52) Around the World for a Single Relic: British Naval Franklin Search Expedition: Richard Collinson, 1850-55

Richard Collinson, the titular head of this Franklin Search Expedition, lost contact with McClure after leaving London on January 10, 1850. The Enterprise did not arrive in time to penetrate the Bering Strait in 1850 so it was not until the next year that any searching by this ship was done.

The Enterprise sailed up Prince of Wales Strait but was stopped by ice. Retreating, Enterprise took harbour in Winter Cove, Prince Albert Peninsula, Victoria Island. Collinson had difficulty in communicating with the Inuit in that Miertsching had remained aboard the Investigator. Collinson met a group of Inuit who belonged to the Winter Island People. They had a few iron tipped arrows and did not appear to be well off for food and clothing.[54] On a sledge trip in October of 1851, Collinson met nine Inuit driving dog sleds and later watched as they fished through the ice.[55] One old man, Ip-pee-ra, was the leading man of the area. Both man and animal left the area during the dead of winter. None were seen until the sledging trips of the spring.

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[54] Richard Collinson, Journal of H.M.S. Enterprise, on the Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin's Ships by Behring Strait, 1850-55 (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1889), p. 167.

[55] Ibid., p. 171.

By July, Collinson was able to purchase limited amounts of fresh provisions from the Inuit. Said he:

> They [the natives] paid us a last visit on the 3rd [of August], and we parted very good friends. We would have been better pleased could they have abstained from stealing. There is, however, great excuse for them; such riches they had never seen before: pieces of iron hoop, empty preserved meat tins, old clothes, etc., were still eagerly sought for.[56]

Collinson said these western Victoria Land Inuit numbered approximately 150. He said they differed from all other Inuit he had met from Alaska eastward. They seemed to be continually on the move and were the northernmost people, far beyond 72° 10' N. in Prince of Wales Strait.[57]

By August 5, 1852, Collinson's ship freed itself and the expedition proceeded into Prince Albert Sound, the deep indentation into the eastern coast of Victoria Island. Then, the Enterprise swung into Dolphin and Union Strait that had carried the small boats of Franklin, Back, Dease, Simpson and Rae and which had been reached by Hearne and Mackenzie. Finally, Cambridge Bay was attained.

There, five natives came aboard. This was obviously their first contact[58] even though both Simpson and Rae had been in the area. Cambridge Bay served as winter harbour for 1852-53.

Nine natives came on board on October 10th and twenty-five visited on the 15th. The natives thereafter visited often but Collinson complained that he had difficulty getting fish or venison from them at first but larger quantities were later purchased.

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[56] Ibid., p. 222.

[57] Ibid., p. 222.

[58] Ibid., p. 242.

At the eastern end of Victoria Island, the visitors located "a piece of wood, which being almost the only article we have met with which could have belonged to the missing ships [Erebus and Terror]."[59]

Collinson realized that the Inuit could not have brought the wood to this part because, as he reasoned, ". . . it is better suited for making arrows than the drift wood we had seen in their neighbourhood, and they [the Inuit] would not have left the cooper hasp, screws and nails in it."[60]

This relic found solely by the Englishmen, located across Victoria Strait from where the tragedy of Franklin had developed, was the only clue that Collinson could show for his five year stint in Arctic waters. If he had Miertsching, Collinson might have been able to carefully question the Inuit of Cambridge Bay but Miertsching was with McClure.

The season was now late and Collinson had to extricate his ship and crew from the Central Arctic.

(54) The Ooligbucks Again: Hudson's Bay Company and Franklin Search: John Rae, 1853-54

Rae had surveyed the east coast of Boothia Peninsula in 1846-47 and covered the whole south coast of Victoria Island in 1850-51. Now, he sought to search and chart the west coast of Boothia between the Castor and Pollux River and Bellot Strait.[61] Rae started out from

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[59] Ibid., p. 278.

[60] Ibid., p. 278.

[61] Cooke, op. cit., p. 208.

Chesterfield Inlet on August 9, 1853 toward Repulse Bay. On arriving in Repulse Bay, Rae found no Inuit, nor recent traces of them. Said he of the absence of the natives:

> . . . [This] . . . caused me some anxiety, not that I expected any aid from them but because I could attribute their having abandoned so favourite a locality to no other cause than a scarcity of food arising from the deer having taken another route in their migrations to and from the north.[62]

Nevertheless, Rae began the process of gathering the plant, Andromeda tetragona, which he used as fuel. For food, the party shot 109 deer, 1 musk-ox, 53 brace of ptarmigan and 1 seal. Fifty-four salmon were also caught. Of these, twenty-one deer were shot by Thomas Mistegan and nine by William Ooligbuck.[63]

Mistegan had served as steersman for Richardson during 1847-49. He now served Rae as middleman and hunter and he would travel again in 1855 with James Anderson to the mouth of the Back River.

William Ooligbuck, son of Ooligbuck, had been with his father and Rae in 1846-47. Letitia Hargrave described him as a "little scamp of about twelve years of age and speaking ten languages." Rae indicated he didn't want Ooligbuck junior on his 1853-54 trip but he proved the only Inuit interpreter available. Not only did William Ooligbuck serve Rae on this occasion but he was desired by James Anderson but was not available. In 1856, he was hired for three years by the Hudson's Bay

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[62] John Rae, "Arctic Exploration with Information Respecting Sir John Franklin's Missing Party," Royal Geographical Society. Journal, 25 (1855), 246.

[63] Ibid., p. 247.

Company as interpreter for 17 pounds.[64] William was reported to have died about 1895.[65]

By March 31, 1854, Rae began his tour along the same route that he had used in 1847. He had previously established caches. The group built snow houses along the line of march. By April 17, they had reached Pelly Bay. On April 20, they encountered Inuit but these proved uncooperative and Rae noted that they tended to dissuade him from going westward. Then Ooligbuck attempted to desert but he was caught and he pleaded that he was sick. Rae eased some of the luggage off Ooligbuck's sled and peace was restored.

On April 21, the party met "a very intelligent Esquimaux . . . [who] consented to accompany us two days' journey . . . he said that the road by which he had come was the best for us." Another Inuit joined the party and he indicated "that a party of 'Kabloonans' had died of starvation a long distance to the west where we then were, and beyond a large river.[66] The truth of the fate of the Franklin expedition was about to unravel.

Rae gave a summary of the information that he gleaned at that time and subsequently on this expedition, as follows:

> In the spring, four winters past (1850), whilst some Esquimaux families were killing seals near the north shore of a

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[64] Edwin Ernest Rich, ed., John Rae's Correspondence with the Hudson's Bay Company on Arctic Exploration 1844-1855, ed. E. E. Rich . . . assisted by E. M. Johnson . . . with an introduction by J. M. Wordie . . . and R. J. Cyriax (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1953).

[65] Cooke, op. cit., p. 417.

[66] Rae, op. cit., p. 250, 1855.

> large island, named in Arrowsmith's chart King William Land, forty white men were seen travelling in company southward over the ice, and dragging a boat and sledge with them. They were passing along the west shore of the above-named island. None of the party could speak the Esquimaux language so well as to be understood, but by signs the natives were led to believe that the ship or ships had been crushed by ice, and that they were then going to where they expected to find deer to shoot. From the appearance of the men (all of whom, with the exception of one officer, were hauling on the drag-ropes of the sledge, and were looking thin) they were then supposed to be getting short of provisions, and they purchased a small seal, from the natives. The officer was described as being a tall, stout, middle aged man. When their days' journey terminated they pitched tents to rest in.
>
> At a later date the same season, but previous to the disruption of the ice, the corpses of some thirty persons and some graves were discovered on the continent, and five dead bodies on an island near it, about a long day's journey to the north-west of a large stream which can be no other than Back's Great Fish River (named by the Esquimaux Ooy-koo-hi-ca-lik), as its description and that of the low shore in the neighbourhood of Point Ogle and Montreal Island agree exactly with that of Sir George Back. Some of the bodies had been turned over to form a shelter, and some lay scattered about in different directions. Of those seen on the island it was supposed that one was that of an officer (chief), as he had a telescope strapped over his shoulders, and his double-barrelled gun lay beneath him. From the mutilated state of many of the bodies, and the contents of the kettles, it is evident that our wretched countrymen had been driven to the last dread alternative as a means of sustaining life. A few of the unfortunate men must have survived until the arrival of the wild fowl (say until the end of May), as shots were heard and fresh bones and feathers of geese were noticed near the scene of the said event.
>
> . . . [Rae then lists a number of relics and tells how he acquired them] . . .
>
> . . . None of the Esquimaux with whom I had communications saw the "white men" either when living or after death, nor had they ever been at the place where the corpses were found, but had their information from natives who had been there, and who have seen the party travelling over the ice. From what I could learn, there is no reason to suspect that any violence had been offered to the sufferers by the natives.[67]

There were a number of striking points to be made about this lengthy quotation. Firstly, Rae had such confidence in the truth of the testimony that he literally turned on his heel and returned to England with the news. Secondly, the facts presented were essentially borne out by later finds and testimony. Thirdly, Rae got these facts through his two Inuit interpreters, Ooligbuck (William) and Munroe. Fourthly, this was the first concrete information as to the fate of the Franklin crew in nine years and it was received almost by accident. Bellot and King had suggested that questioning of the natives of the area should be carried out and the Admiralty had published its phrase book but either by accident or design, no one had followed through with the strategy. Fifthly, Rae was reporting not only facts but synthesized facts. The Inuit had put many of those facts together to form a narrative. One example might be their deductive powers in putting 'flesh in the kettle' observation into cannibalism. Sixthly, Rae at the beginning of his trip had expressed unwillingness to have William Ooligbuck serve as interpreter. At the end of his trip he praised Ooligbuck. Why? Because Ooligbuck had done so much service to Rae in both getting the facts, putting the questions and giving intelligible replies to any questions of which Rae might think. Finally, the reason for the death of Franklin's remaining men is in the phrase, "None of the party could speak the Esquimaux language so well as to be understood." The Admiralty sent Franklin out without an interpreter and Franklin, while in his Beechey Island position, had no means of acquiring one. If Franklin had an interpreter from the area of King William's Island, the interpreter could have corrected the faulty geographic knowledge proclaimed by Back, Dease, Simpson, James and John Ross. This does not even take into account the advice such an interpreter would have been able to give as to travelling method, transport, diet, and survival techniques.

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[67] Ibid., pp. 250-51.

When he had his information from his informants, Rae was in the neighbourhood of the Becker River of Pelly Bay. Rae paid off his Inuit auxillaries and informants as he said, "liberally," but the "liberally" paled into insignificance when one considered the rewards Rae received (£10,000) because of the information he relayed. Here, Rae struck westward and he noted the number of deer and musk-oxen tracks. He reached the point of the Castor and Pollux River and found a cairn that had been built by Simpson in 1837. As he travelled northward, Rae came to the conclusion that King William's Land was an island. Rae went as far north on the western side of Boothia as to parallel what he had previously searched on the eastern side. He decided upon return to Repulse Bay. Rae said he thought he had a "higher duty" to relay his news so no more lives would be jeopardized in fruitless searches in areas where there was not the "slightest prospect of obtaining information."[68]

Rae had received his information from William Ooligbuck and the Inuit informants. He had plenty of provisions (three months by his own admission). He could have been on the scene to rescue papers and records. For all he knew, there may have been members of the Franklin crew still alive but he had his "higher duty." He moved in directions diametrically opposite to the scene of the tragedy. Furthermore, he had learned his strategy of Arctic travel and life from excellent teachers -- the Inuit. Rae supplied the drive, the personality, the leadership but the goddess of luck and the generosity of the Inuit gave in his favour.

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[68] Ibid., p. 255.

Before bidding good-bye to William Ooligbuck on August 28, 1854, he said:

> My good interpreter, William Ooligbuck, was landed, and before bidding him farewell, I presented him with a very handsomely mounted hunting-knife, intrusted to me by Captain Sir George Back, for his former travelling companion Ooligbuck, but as the old man was dead [1852] I took the liberty of giving it to his son as an inducement to future good conduct, should his services be again required.[69]

Certainly, the Ooligbucks, father and son, had good conduct in the past. They had travelled all the coast from the Mackenzie River mouth to Churchill on Hudson Bay. They had crossed overland as well. William had been the means by which Rae got the information about the fate of a portion of the Franklin crew. Rae was a good organizer, a good reporter and a gossip about the other "explorers" of his club. While he was the receiver of so many gifts, a certain magnanimity was lacking when he could not even give the names of the Inuit informers.

(56) A Legacy of Eenoolooapik: Expeditions of William Penny, 1853-54 and 1857-58

Penny had been snubbed when the Admiralty failed to appoint him to command a ship in 1852 but Penny had returned to his first love, whaling, and to an idea associated with Eenoolooapik. Penny had discussed with Eenoolooapik the idea of having a missionary or teacher live with the Inuit. Eenoolooapik had been enthusiastic about the idea. Penny never forgot this idea.

Penny and his whaler allies had chosen to form the Aberdeen

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[69] Ibid., p. 256.

Whaling Company in 1853. The premise of the new company was to establish a colony in Cumberland Sound. The ships would return to Scotland but some of the crew could winter in the Sound.

Also, Penny hoped to pick up a missionary in Greenland and have the latter live in the colony for the mutual "benefit" of both whaler and Inuit. Penny attempted to get a missionary off Lichtenfels but weather prevented it.[70] Penny landed in Newacktoolick Harbour and had a successful winter -- catching whales in the spring and fall and boiling whales in the winter. Penny used dogs and sleds as he had done in his expedition of 1850-51. A little colony of Inuit remained year round in this new settlement but cholera broke out in the little colony and a third of the Inuit died.[71]

Nevertheless, Penny had proven his point. Wintering and colonies on land stayed. This remained the pattern of whaling in Davis Strait for years to come. Penny, himself, built houses at Kekerton, an island in the north of the sound, and at Nuvuk on the north shore.

New stations were set up in Frobisher Bay and Pond Inlet. It brought more Inuit into contact with both European diseases and bad habits. The first result Penny could not deal with but he remembered his discussions with Eenoolooapik of the "need" for missionaries. With this in mind, Penny wrote to the Moravian Church in September, 1856 as

> This failure was a source of deep regret to me all my voyage but especially during my severe illness. The natives are a most intelligent race, and showed very anxious to receive the teacher

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[70] Holland, William Penny, op. cit., p. 38.

[71] Ibid., p. 39.

> I told them of. Many have died since the date of my last visit -- if God spares me life and enables me to take another voyage to their coasts, would it not be possible for you, with timely notice, to procure me a missionary of your church to accompany me from Aberdeen for I have little expectation, of being able to reach one of your settlements in Greenland, during the short time that can be allowed to voyage out?[72]

The response of the Moravians was enthusiastic and Brother Mathias Warmow was selected by the Moravians for the task. Warmow and Penny arrived in Baffin on August 1, 1857, and Warmow began his travelling with the Inuit. He travelled with them in boats to the east for 140 miles to the east of Kekerton in search of whales. Warmow noted the spareseness of population (350) and this stood in contrast to Penny's 1840 estimate of one thousand. Everywhere along his route, Warmow saw evidence of former inhabitants. Said Warmow of the inhabitants he met:

> I am sorry to see the Esquimaux wearing European clothes, and, in short, imitating the Europeans in all respects. They were undoubtedly better off in their original state, and more likely to be gained for the kingdom of God. But when they begin to copy our mode of life, they are neither properly Europeans nor Esquimaux, and will speedily die out, in consequence of the change.[73]

Warmow met a number of people travelling to Kekerton. They had been in their oomiaks fifteen days but had sprung a leak. In consequence some of the whale bone the boats carried had to be thrown overboard. One of the men, when asked what his name was, answered, "Me, Captain Pakak" which set Warmow back a little as the man had just lost his boat.

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[72] Ibid., p. 39.

[73] Mathias Warmow, "Extracts From Mr. B. Warmow's Journal of His Residence in Cumberland Inlet, During the Winter of 1857-1858," Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established Among the Heathen (Vol. 23, 1858-60, No. 242, March 1859, pp. 87-92), p. 89.

But Pakak had information as well as pride. He had once lived in Pond Inlet called Agganiut (the windward side). Braggingly, Pakak told of how he and his cohorts in 1851 had broken into a provision house set up on Leopold Island for the use of Franklin search crews. Pakak also had an account of what Warmow thought was the fate of Franklin. Said Pakak:

> . . . a party of people, who had suffered shipwreck, had been in the neighbourhood referred to, several years ago; -- that his himself, however, had not seen them, as this was before his arrival there, -- that is, probably previous to 1850; -- that these people had lost their ships in the ice, further up in the north, where the sun does not shine for several months together, and had travelled in two divisions in boats; and that the one which came to Aggamiut had five boats, and remained there with the Esquimaux fifteen days while the other division with only one boat had proceeded westward.[74]

Pakak was a braggard. He knew of Franklin because he had destroyed the provision house. Had he actually heard the story or was he inventing? If he actually heard the story, here was Warmow listening to it eight hundred miles from where the wreck occurred and ten years later.

In contrast, Warmow liked Niakutsiak who was a principal man in a party of Inuit. Warmow thought Niakutsiak to be very helpful and would be the type of man that a missionary would need if he were to establish residence here.

Warmow, like Miertsching, was very considerate of his own comfort. They both knew Inuktitut and came as John the Baptists before the major efforts of either the Roman Catholic or Anglican missionaries.

For good or ill, Penny had introduced new factors into the Cumberland Sound area -- whaling and the missionaries. Both had profound effects in later years. Whaling lasted in the Cumberland Sound area until the 1930's. Though whaling in Hudson Bay began to supercede that of this area in the 1860's, it can still be argued that for some thirty years Cumberland Sound kept the whaling concerns in the business.[75]

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[74] Ibid.

Penny certainly pioneered much but the ghost of Eenoolooapik certainly exerted influence long after the latter's death in 1847.

(57) Interpreters Were Available: British Naval Franklin Search Expedition: Francis Leopold McClintock, 1857-59

Lady Jane Franklin launched the last of her expeditions under the command of Francis Leopold McClintock in 1857.

Charles A. Schott, in the preface of McClintock's journal, estimated that forty expeditions had been sent out in search of Franklin. The British government had expended £ 675,000, Lady Franklin and private citizens £ 35,000, the United States Navy   150,000 and Henry Grinnell £ 100,000. This almost amounted to a million pounds. The Crimean War had begun in 1854 and public attention was drawn away from the Arctic Search.[76]

In spite of the fact that Rae had been paid a 10,000 pound reward by parliament for the information he had secured from the Inuit, few relics or remains of the Franklin crew had been seen by Europeans. The sites where the ships had been wrecked had not been visited and rumours still flew as to the existence of survivors. The voyage of the Fox would dispel rumours, visit the actual sites, return some remains and relics and recover the facts of what had happened in 1846-48, or so the sponsors hoped.

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[75] Holland, op. cit., p. 41.

[76] Francis Leopold McClintock, The Voyage of the 'Fox' in the Arctic Seas. A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and His Companions (London: John Murray, 1859; or Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1972), p. xvi.

McClintock had served in 1846-48 with McClure and James Ross and with Ommaney and Belcher. He was as experienced a commander as Lady Franklin could find. He utilized the best of the experiences of his predecessors, had care to have interpreters aboard, and took the advice of native consultants.

The 177 ton Fox left Aberdeen on July 2, 1857. McClintock recognized the need for interpreters so he hired the Dane, Carl Petersen, who had served as interpreter aboard the Lady Franklin (1850-51) and the Advance (1853-55).[77] Petersen had some command of English plus Danish plus Inuktitut. In addition, for what McClintock termed "Eskimo auxiliaries," he employed Anton Christian and Samuel Emmanuel from Godhaven.

Of the acquisition of Anton Christian, McClintock says:

> Here also [Godhaven] a young Esquimaux named Christian volunteered his services as our dog-driver, and was accepted. The men soon thoroughly washed and cropped him (soap and scissors being novelties to an Esquimaux); they then rigged him in sailor's clothes. He was evidently not at home in them, but was not the less proud of his improved appearance, as reflected in the admiring glances of his countrymen.[78]

Not the least of their acquisitions from the Greenland base were the fourteen Inuit dogs. Other breeds of dogs had been imported into the north but none could be so serviceable as the Inuit breed. Penny had utilized dogs on a limited basis in 1850, and Rae made limited use of them but McClintock used them liberally and he had two experienced dog handlers.

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[77] Cooke, op. cit., p. 420.

[78] McClintock, op. cit., p. 25.

Emmanuel, Christian and Petersen were always on the watch for seal. McClintock, from his school of previous experience in Arctic sledging, came to realize the importance of travelling with light loads and depending on the country for game. These lessons were more indelibly marked as the expedition progressed.

McClintock inauspiciously spent the first winter locked in the middle ice of Baffin Bay. He spent 242 days in this ice and drifted southward some 1385 statute miles.[79]

Finally, the crew of the Fox freed the ship. McClintock returned to Holsteinbourg, Greenland, and then crossed the North Water, proceeded into Lancaster Sound to Beechey Island as indicated in Map 27. Down Peel Sound they attempted to sail but were met by ice. McClintock returned to Prince Regent Sound and sailed as far as Bellot Strait. McClintock made four attempts to sail through this Strait but to no avail so they wintered at the eastern end of that Strait and made plans for sledge journeys.

McClintock planned three journeys by sledge. McClintock, accompanied by Petersen, would cross over from Boothia to King William Island, traverse its east coast and go to the mouth of the Back River. William Hobson would explore the western coast of Boothia and Allan Young would

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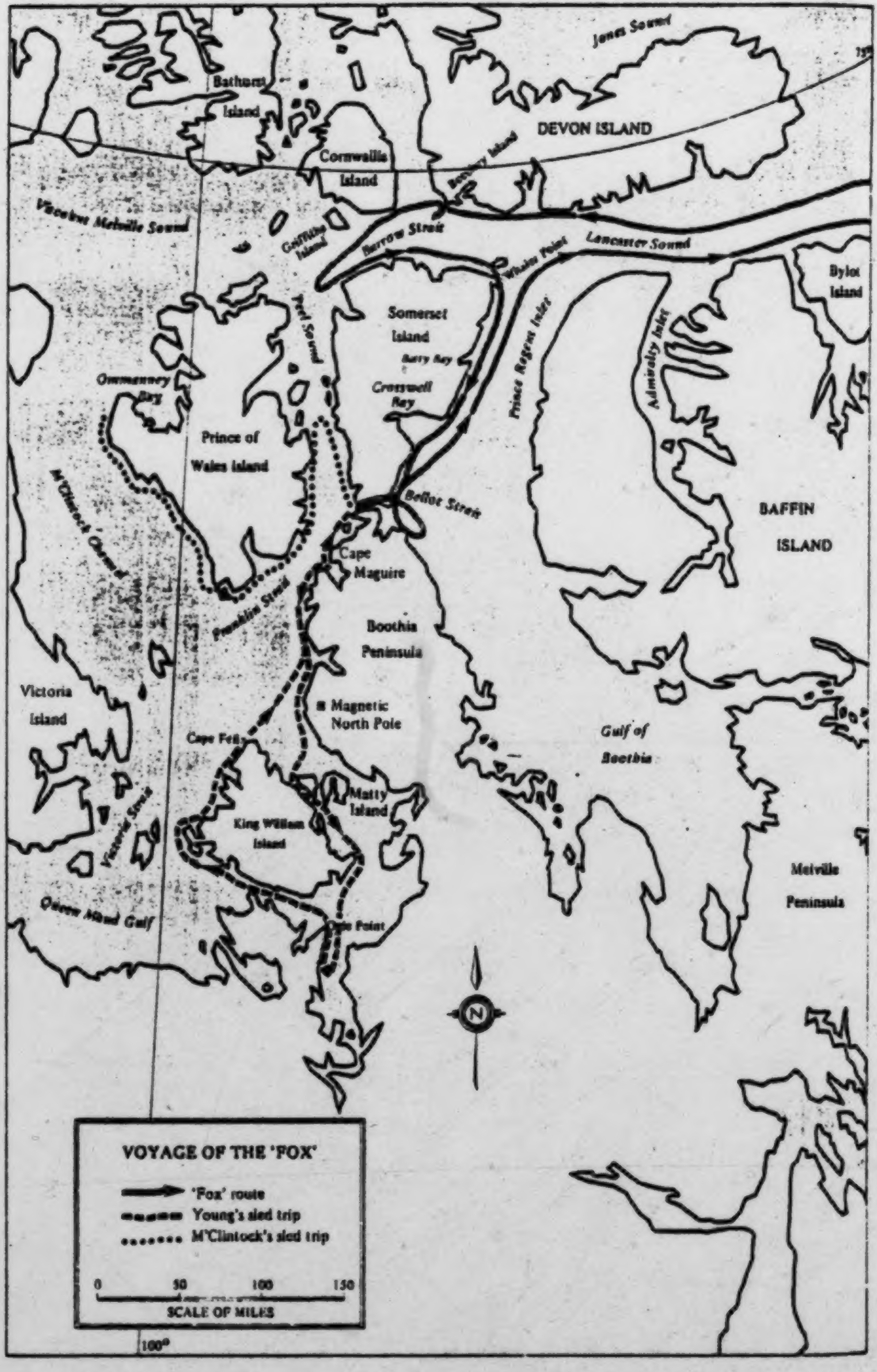
[79] Ibid., p. 99.


Jones Sound
75°
Bathurst Island
Cornwallis Island
DEVON ISLAND
Beechey Island
Viscount Melville Sound
Griffiths Island
Barrow Strait
Whaler Point
Lancaster Sound
Bylot Island
Peel Sound
Somerset Island
Batty Bay
Cresswell Bay
Prince Regent Inlet
Admiralty Inlet
Ommanney Bay
Prince of Wales Island
M'Clintock Channel
Bellot Strait
BAFFIN ISLAND
Cape Maguire
Franklin Strait
Boothia Peninsula
Victoria Island
Magnetic North Pole
Cape Felix
Gulf of Boothia
Matty Island
King William Island
Victoria Strait
Queen Maud Gulf
Ogle Point
Melville Peninsula
N
VOYAGE OF THE 'FOX'
'Fox' route
Young's sled trip
M'Clintock's sled trip
0
50
100
150
SCALE OF MILES
100°

Map 27. The Voyage of the Fox

From: Farley Mowat, Ordeal by Ice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 284.

trace the shores of Prince of Wales' land to the east as far as Sherard Osborne's farthest. What McClintock did not say was that Emmanuel and Christian were to be important cogs in the Osborne and Young parties. Thus, each of the three parties had an Inuit interpreter.[80]

In January of 1859 sledge trips began and the aim of these sledge trips was to contact the "Esquimaux." The teams travelled with light loads, utilized their dogs, and lived in snow houses. By March 1, they reached the Magnetic Pole and then came the meeting with the Netsilik. Said McClintock:

> Petersen and I immediately buckled on our revolvers and advanced to meet them. The natives halted, made fast their dogs, laid down their spears, and received us without any evidence of surprise. They told us they had been out upon a seal hunt on the ice, and were returning home.[81]

McClintock, through Petersen, intimated that this party of Inuit was anxious to trade and then Petersen entered into conversation about the real purpose of the visit. Did the people know anything about the lost men? It was apparent that the Netsilik did know something because McClintock spied a naval button and the Inuit implied that their knives were made of iron which came from an island where some white men had starved. The people said they had been to the island but they had never actually seen the white men. McClintock realized he had reached the frontier of the truth about the fate of the Franklin expedition.

On March 3, forty-five Inuit appeared. McClintock purchased six silver spoons and forks, a silver medal, part of a gold chain and several buttons from them. He also purchased a few salmon, seal and venison but the Netsilik would not part with their fine dogs.[82]

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[80] Ibid., p. 181.

[81] Ibid., p. 208.

All of these people remembered the visit of Sir John Ross in 1829-30. Tulluahiu, who had been fitted with the wooden leg, was now dead. None of these people had seen Franklin's men alive; however, they had seen their bones upon the island and where some were buried.

On March 4, the people came again and told of how a three masted ship was crushed in the ice to the west of King William Island. The ship had sunk, they said, so all the goods they now possessed must have been from the island in the river.[83]

McClintock described these Netsilik as being:

> . . . all well clothed in caribou dresses, and looked clean. They appeared to have an abundance of provisions, but scarcely a scrap of wood was seen among them which had not come from the lost expedition. Their sledges were wretched little affairs, consisting of two rolls of seal-skin coated with ice and attached to each other by bones which served as the crossbars. The men were stout, hearty fellows, and the women arrant thives, but all were good humoured and friendly.[84]

The Inuit, by McClintock's own account, were happy, comfortable, travelling under good conditions, knew where they were, possessed most of the knowledge about the end of the Franklin expedition, were well fed and not above bettering their lot. Almost the only thing that McClintock's men had in common with them was that desire to "better their lot." The difference between the two groups was in what they desired.

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[82] Ibid., p. 209.

[83] Ibid., p. 210.

[84] Ibid., p. 212.

So far, McClintock had been able to chart the coastline of the west coast of Boothia in his 420 mile sledge trip. By April 2, two sledge parties were organized for the trip to King William Island. McClintock would proceed to Montreal Island in Chantrey Inlet via King William Island and Hobson would search the west coast of that island.

On April 20, two families of Netsilik were encountered. They informed McClintock that two ships had been seen by the natives of King William Island. One ship had sunk in deep water and the other had been pushed onto the beach. It was from this ship that many goods had been acquired. Further, aboard this ship had lain the body of a man with long teeth. In August or September of that year when the ships were destroyed, the white men had gone away to a large river (the Back) hauling boats on sledges and the bodies of the white men had been found on an island (Montreal) at the mouth of that river.

McClintock, on the east coast, visited a snow-house village and here purchased seal flesh, blubber, venison, dried and frozen salmon. The Inuit told him little remained of the wreck on the west coast of King William Island. An old woman and a boy were shown to McClintock who had been at the wreck during the winter of 1857-58.

An old woman told how the white men "had dropped by the way" as they went to the Back River. The Inuit had not witnessed this but had discovered the bodies during the following winter.

McClintock found nothing on Montreal Island and the mainland, so he crossed Simpson Strait and returned to King Williams' south coast. His party was now moving on the coast along which Franklin's crew must have come. On May 24, they found a skeleton. Said McClintock:

> This victim was a young man, slightly built, and perhaps above the common height; the dress appeared to be that of a steward or officer's servant, the loose bow-knot in which his neck-hankerchief was tied not being used by seamen or officers. In every particular the dress confirmed our conjectures as to his rank or office in the late expedition - the blue jacket with slashed sleeves and braided edging, and the pilot-cloth great coat with plain covered buttons. We found, also, a clothes-brush near, and a horn pocket comb. This poor man seems to have selected the bare ridge top as affording the least tiresome walking, and to have fallen upon his face in the position in which we found him.[85]

McClintock's crew were the first white men to witness what had happened to one of their own kind sent here and completely unprepared to deal with what he had to endure. The blind stupidity of the Admiralty in sending 129 men into an area where the Admiralty knew these men would have difficulty affronts the reader of the journals. Without shelter, food, clothing, and transport, plus being culturally and psychologically unprepared, this young man walked to his doom in what Stefansson claims to be a land of plenty. Here was mute evidence of the old woman's words to McClintock that "they fell down and died as they walked along."[86]

When McClintock came to Cape Herschel, he found a note from Hobson stating that the Hobson party had found a record at Cape Victory on the northwest coast of King William Island. It was an Admiralty form but it gave the following message:

> 28 of May 1847/ H.M. ships Erebus and Terror wintered in the ice in latitude 70° 05' N; longitude 98° 23' W. Having wintered in 1846-47 at Beechey Island, in lat. 74° 43' 28" N., long. 91° 39' 15" W., after ascending Wellington Channel to lat. 77°, and returned to the west side of Cornwallis Island.

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[85] Ibid., pp. 248-49.

[86] Ibid., p. 249.

> Sir John Franklin commanding the expedition. All well.
> Party consisting of 2 officers and 6 men left the ships on Monday 24th May, 1847.
>
> G. M. Gore Lieut.
> Chas. F. Des Vaeux, Mate[87]

The message revealed what had happened in the first part of the Franklin Expedition. After meeting the whalers in Melville Bay (July, 1845), the expedition had entered Lancaster Sound, proceeded up Wellington Channel, then returned southward and wintered at Beechey Island in 1845-46. (Gore says 1846-47 but this is an error on his part.)

However, another hand had written around the document another message. It was written a year later on April 25, 1848. The following is the substance of the message:

> April 25, 1848. H.M. ships Terror and Erebus were deserted on 22nd April, 5 leagues N.N.W. of this, having been beset since 12th September, 1846. The officers and crews consisting of 105 souls, under the command of Captain F. R. M. Crozier, landed here. Sir John Franklin died on the 11th June, 1847; and the total loss by deaths in the expedition has been to this date 9 officers and 15 men.
>
> F. R. M. Crozier
> Captain and senior officer
> James Fitzjames
> Captain, H.M.S. Erebus
>
> and start 9 A.M.) tomorrow, 26th for Back's Fish River.[88]

In one year, Franklin had died, the ships had been beset off the west coast of King William's Island, and the remainder of the men were to seek Back's River.

McClintock, in the meantime, covered the southern coast of King William Island and then he came upon one of the boats pulled by the survivors. The boat weighed seven or eight hundred pounds and the sledge on which it was carried another 650 pounds, so McClintock estimated.[89] A great collection of clothing was found plus two skeletons. McClintock assumed that this boat was headed back towards the *Erebus* and *Terror* when death beckoned. In reconstruction, McClintock thought that the 105 men had started out, many had become weakened and could not travel. One party went on to Montreal Island, one remained stationary, and another attempted to go back to the ships to get more supplies for the weakened party.

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[87] Ibid., p. 254.

[88] Ibid., p. 254.

Finally, McClintock reached Point Victory. Here he found a cairn and a pile of discarded clothing that reached the height of four feet. This was the debarcation point and the crews had obviously discarded clothing in preparation for their long trek.

The Hobson and McClintock groups hurried back to Bellot Strait and the *Fox*. Later Allan Young, using Samuel Emmanuel to drive the dogs, established that there was a channel between Prince of Wales Island and Victoria Land.[90]

McClintock and the sledge expeditions had "laid down" some 950 miles of new coastline and they had proven the authenticity of the Inuit stories. Says Mowat of the mystery of Franklin:

> Since the bones cannot speak, and since no cache of documents has ever been found, or is it likely to be found, the only prospect for any real elucidation of the mystery of what happened both to the missing, and unknown dead, lies as it has always lain, in an examination of local Eskimo tradition and verbal history.[91]

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[89] Ibid., pp. 263-64.

[90] Ibid., p. 305.

[91] Mowat, *Ordeal by Ice*, p. 330.

Images of the Inuit and Dene as Portrayed by the Journals

Fourteen voyages by authors are discussed and described in this chapter. The voyages are for the express purpose of finding the third Franklin expedition.

Richardson commented on the free trade activities of Beaulieu. The Dene of the upper Mackenzie were beginning to adopt certain practices of the fur trader and adapt them in their own way. Richardson also notes the 'treachery' in the hostilities between Beaver and Dogrib, Dogrib-Slave and Yellowknives and that of the Kutchin and Inuit. In contrast, Richardson commented on interpreters he had known such as Augustus and Albert One-Eye. These he found strictly honest. Richardson commented, also, that the natives respected the property rights of fellow natives but admitted that the native coveted the property of the European. He noted that the Dene tended to be free, roving over huge areas of territory and that no one site was owned by an individual. Richardson claimed the Inuit considered that the individual occupying the headland on the coast claimed ownership of that land. He considered that the Inuit and Dene had different ownership concepts in regard to the land.

Hooper and Pullen travelled south from the Arctic coast and they commented on the warfare between Kutchin and Inuit. Pullen and Hooper pointed out that since the fur trader had more contact with the Kutchin, the Inuit tended to see the whitemen as allied to the Kutchin. This party of Europeans had no interpreter and travelled among the Inuit, so they were forced when the Inuit became too enthusiastic in their welcome to resort to show of arms.

On the eastern land front, Rae utilized Inuit interpreters and hunters to good effect. Rae learned to build snow houses, lived off the land instead of relying on stores of provisions, utilized Inuit clothing and food styles and learned how to use an interpreter. At the beginning of his expedition he had little use for William Ooligbuck, but through his interpreters he had learned of the actual fate of the Franklin crews and his opinion had changed. When he received the story of both fact and synthesis of fact from the Inuit, he showed great respect for the truth of the testimony that he received. Rae, without visiting the scene of the Franklin disaster, took the news reported by the Inuit back to England.

McClintock visited King William Island. He was guided by Inuit reports of the very sites where the last acts of the Franklin crew were acted out. It is the Inuit who were the heroes of the search. They supplied the information and it was not until the white men utilized Inuit survival techniques that the white men found what they wanted or were able to travel to the desired sources.

In striking contrast, the other naval search expeditions were marked by befuddled thinking, inept planning and almost disastrous results. The only high moments were provided by the interpreters. The Arctic coasts were strewn with the abandoned wrecks of ships which tended to be sources for goods for the practical Inuit.

Frame of Reference of the Authors of the Journals

The major reason for the inclusion of the Franklin search expeditions is because they illustrate the frame of reference of the visitors. These expeditions visited the Polar, Baffin, Igloolik, Netsilik, Coppermine and Mackenzie Inuit. Most often the expeditions were to points farther north that did not include winter residences of the Inuit. Most were sea voyages and later expeditions did include interpreters aboard the ships.

One of the reasons that the Franklin 1845 expedition got into difficulties was that earlier voyages had not designated King William Land as an island. Because Franklin did not know he could sail south of the island, he sailed directly into the ice stream of McClintock Channel and his ships became caught in the ice and thus were damaged or sunk. Thomas Simpson had not proceeded around King William Island. He had Ooligbuck with him but no natives were met. George Back had no interpreters with him when he came to the mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh or Back River. The above two expeditions could have provided information that would have prevented Franklin's fatal step. Further, the leaders of these expeditions did not seek out the native opinion because they did not consider the natives to be that knowledgeable.

The Franklin expedition had no interpreters aboard ship. When the crews attempted to escape their icy prison, they met Inuit parties who could have saved them but the crews had no interpreters. The Europeans simply had not realized the need.

Further, the Franklin crews still operated on the European style of travel which was to transport huge loads of canned provisions, traversed the country in European fashion, and wore European styles of clothing. They did not realize the value of Inuit knowledge on all these subjects. Most of the crew could have escaped the icy prison had the Franklin men known what Penny, Rae and McClintock had learned.

The British Admiralty did issue a "phrase book" with Inuktitut phrases early in the 1850's. Certain expeditions hired foreign Inuktitut speakers such as Miertsching and Petersen and still others utilized individuals such as Anton Christian, Sammuel Emmanuel, Ooligbuck, William Ooligbuck, Albert One-Eye, Adam Beck and Erasmus York. Only Rae, Penny and McClintock realized how to use the interpreters to get the desired information.

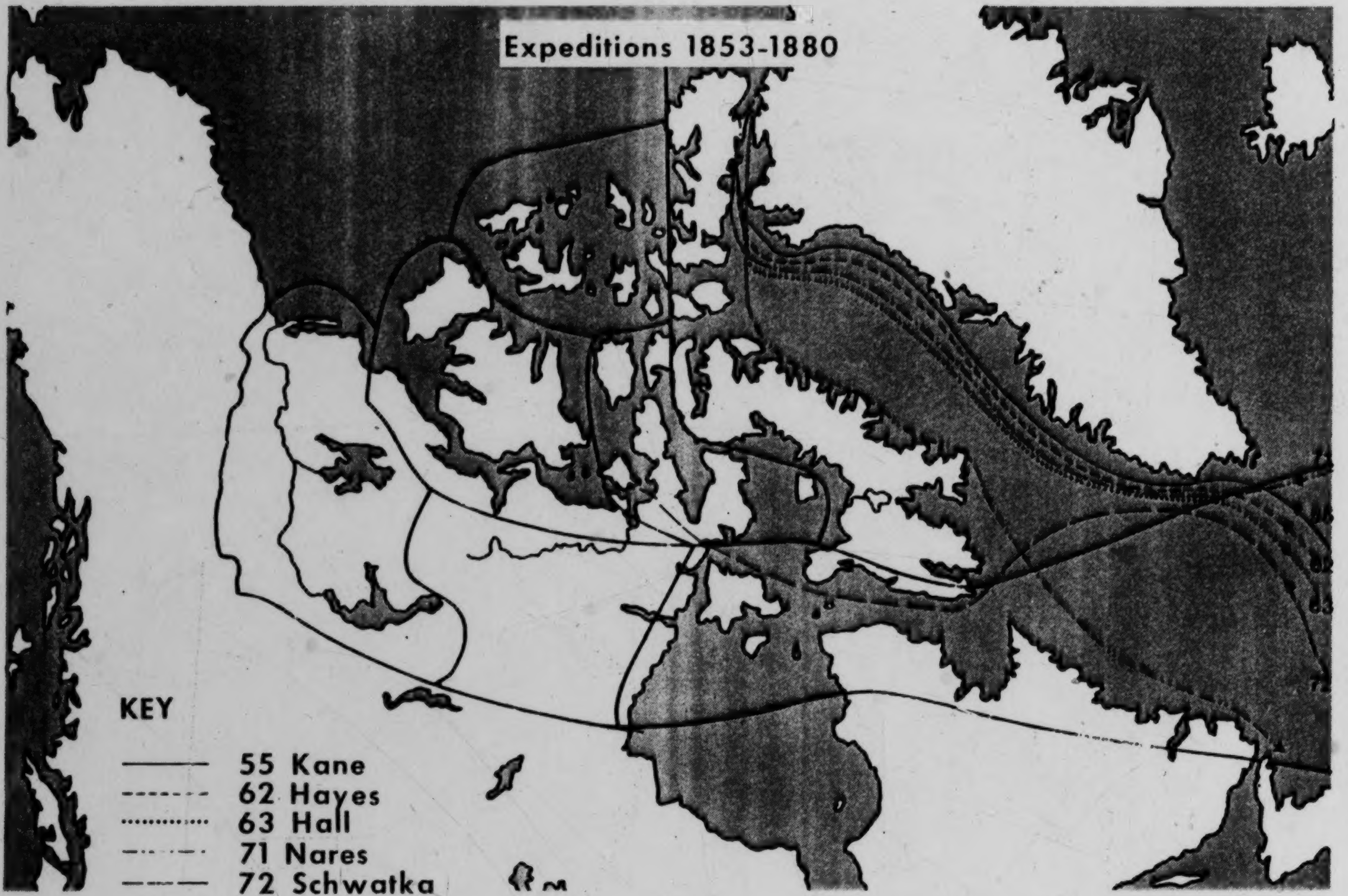
Only Richardson, Rae, Kennedy and McClintock learned survival methods from the Inuit and Dene. Only when they employed these methods in matters such as housing, food, hunting, clothing and transportation did the travellers become able to travel by land. When the seas became frozen, this meant the land was extended. Even on sea ice one had to use the same techniques for survival as used on land. Freezing simply extended the land so sailor then became landsman whether he wanted this or not.

The visitors who searched sought in vain because they relied on their own resources. They could not credit a lesser people (in European eyes) with having either information or technology that the superior Europeans possessed. This fatal flaw in European thinking condemned their fellows to death.

Relationships: Who Influenced Whom?

Since most of the expeditions were to areas removed from Inuit winter occupation, little living with the Inuit or Dene took place. Richardson, Rae, Pullen, Hooper and McClintock lived with the natives but not for long periods of time.

The expeditions of Franklin, Belcher and Austin revealed the futility of search or travel using European modes. It was not until Inuit methods were adopted that any success in search or travel on land was achieved. While the Inuit were introduced to the white man all along the Arctic coast, they were not influenced by them to any degree. The Inuit clearly influenced the white men. Travel, clothing, diet, hunting customs were learned and adopted. Rae found he could travel in comfort if he adopted Inuit modes. Inuit veracity became so accepted that Rae would turn on his heel and return to England with the Inuit report of the fate of the Franklin expedition and McClintock was directed and guided to the very sites where the Franklin scene had been played out. Never before had Inuit veracity and modes of survival had such acceptance by Europeans. The interpreter was the key.



Expeditions 1853-1880

KEY
55 Kane
62 Hayes
63 Hall
71 Nares
72 Schwatka

CHAPTER 10

LIVING AND WORKING WITH THE INUIT (1853-1880)

The common complaint in the last chapter was that those Europeans who travelled would not have or use interpreters. This complaint cannot be made of those travellers who wrote journals of expeditions included in this period of 1853-1880. As a consequence of employing the interpreters and staying for periods of time with the Inuit and under Inuit conditions of life, the Inuit became more understandable to the Europeans and the images drawn of Inuit are more sympathetic and probably more life-like.

The interpreter in this period became not only necessary but popular. The three great interpreters of the period were Hans Christian Hendrik, Ebierbing and Tookoolito. Because of them, other Inuit *dramatis personae* were brought to life and description by the authors of the journals. Time and again the Etah Inuit came to the aid of the expeditionary crews. If a plea came, the Inuit responded. Kane, Hayes and Hall all refer to the hospitality and kindness of these people. As a consequence, the Inuit appeared warm, lively and humane.

One other characteristic is common to the following expeditions. Schwatka's expedition took place in the farthest south area as does one of Hall's. The other four are in the high Arctic or in the area of closest proximity between Greenland and North America. All the expeditions took place in the area where the winters and ice conditions were most severe. Only by adopting Inuit technology and living habits could

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Facing - Map 28. Expeditions 1853-1880

man endure. The journal writers had to learn these lessons and the students tended to have a greater appreciation of their teachers, therefore the image of the latter became much more positive.

(55) Introducing Hans Christian Hendrik: United States Franklin Search: Elisha Kent Kane, 1853-55

Hans Christian Hendrik played a part in the opening up of American Alley, so-called because the waterway was the highway for Robert Peary and Frederick Cooke to make their "runs to the Pole" over water. Hans, born in 1834 at Fiskernaes in Southern Greenland, was destined to accompany Dr. Elisha Kent Kane to Cape Constitution, travel to almost the 82nd degree of latitude with Dr. Israel Hayes, and even farther north with Charles Francis Hall and the George Nares expeditions.

Hans had been instructed by the Moravian brothers during his childhood, enough so that he could pen his own memoirs.[1] Just as John Sackheuse painted his conception of the meeting of Ross and the Arctic Highlanders, so Hans wrote his own account of the Kane, Hayes, Hall and Nares expeditions.

Hans reported that he had to learn the traditional things that Inuit boys learned: driving and caring for a dog team; how to hunt the seal, walrus, narwhal, bear and reindeer. He learned to travel on a trail, endure the cold while hunting, and how to build a snowhouse. The greatest skill of all and the skill which was to contribute so much to the expeditions in which he participated was the art of building and operating a kayak.

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[1] Hans Christian Hendrik, Memoir of Hans Hendrik, the Arctic Traveler, ed. by Dr. George Stevens (London: Trubner, 1878).

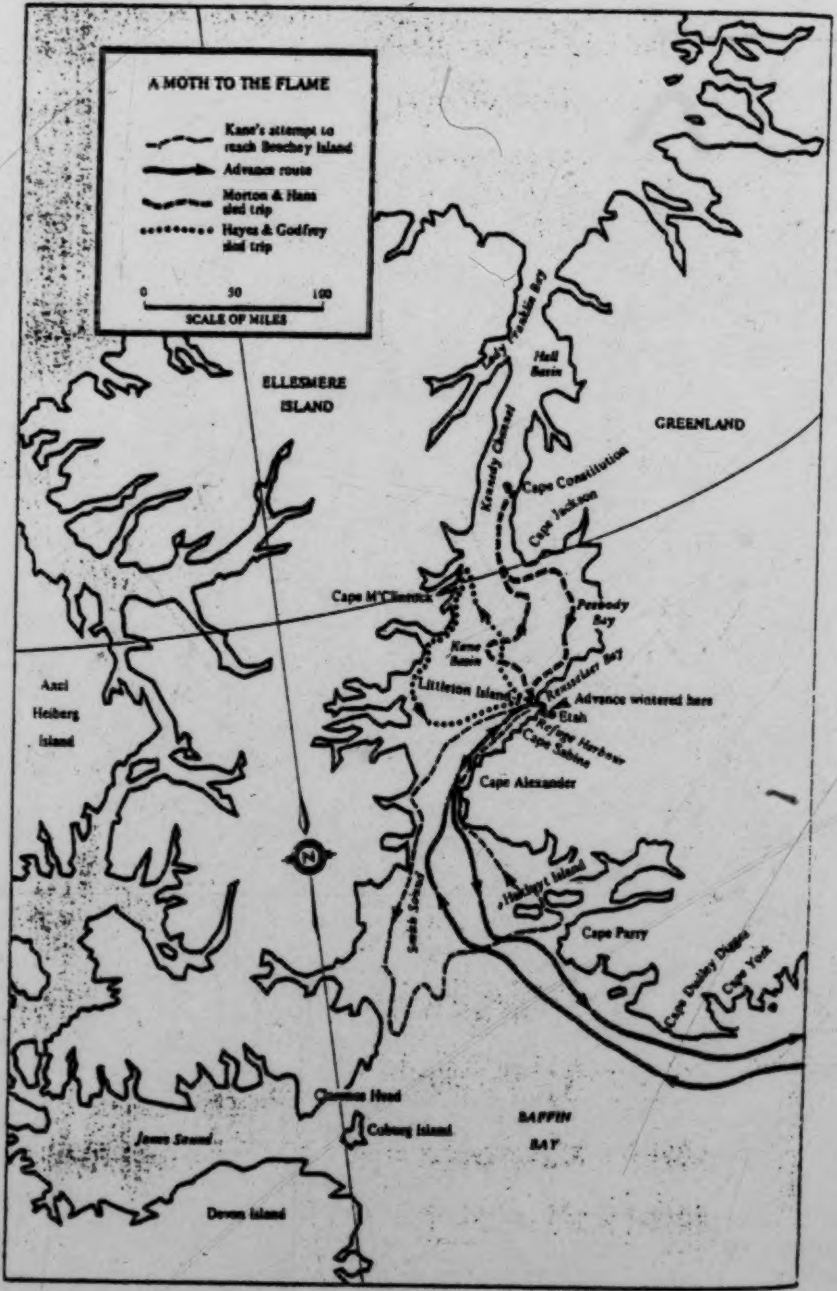
Dr. Kane, in the Advance, with the dual purpose of searching for the Franklin expedition and of sailing as far north as possible from Baffin Bay, picked Hans up at Fiskernaes to serve as hunter and interpreter of the expedition. Hendrik made Kane promise to leave two barrels of bread and fifty-two pounds of pork in Fiskernaes for Hans' mother as part payment for services to be rendered.

Kane managed to get the Advance into the Kane Basin to Rensselaer Bay, near the Greenland Eskimo village of Etah. This village would become a stopping point for Kane, Hayes, Nares, Hall, Cooke and Peary in years to come. The ill-supplied Kane expedition crew busied themselves in preparation for the winter and in laying down depots so that further sledge trips could be made later on in the year. The crew, inexperienced in terms of Arctic travel and life, had to be coached by Hans and Johan Carl Christian Petersen. It took a year or so, but the teachers finally convinced Kane and his men that the sole essentials needed for Arctic sledge travel were raw meat and the fur sleeping bag.

Hans taught the fine art of driving a dog sled and how to apply the whip. By the end of his Arctic stay, Kane could average about fifty miles per day for two weeks with a dog team.

The scene of Kane's activities are shown on Map 29.

By spring, sixteen men were infected with scurvy. With the approach of spring also came the approach of the Smith Sound Eskimos. Metek, a head taller than Dr. Kane, an extremely powerfully built Inuit with swarthy complexion and piercing black eyes, led his ten companions aboard the ship. The Americans viewed with surprise the fifty-six fine


A MOTH TO THE FLAME
Kane's attempt to reach Beechey Island
Advance route
Morton & Hans sled trip
Hayes & Godfrey sled trip
0
50
100
SCALE OF MILES
ELLESMERE ISLAND
GREENLAND
Lady Franklin Bay
Hall Basin
Kennedy Channel
Cape Constitution
Cape Jackson
Cape M'Clintock
Peabody Bay
Kane Basin
Rensselaer Bay
Littleton Island
Advance wintered here
Etah
Refuge Harbour
Cape Sabine
Cape Alexander
Axel Heiberg Island
Hakluyt Island
Smith Sound
Cape Parry
Cape Dudley Digges
Cape York
N
Clarence Head
Coburg Island
BAFFIN BAY
Jones Sound
Devon Island

Map 29. Arctic Travels of Hans Christian Hendrik

From: Farley Mowat, The Polar Passion (McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971), p. 52.

dogs with which the party travelled. The Inuit stayed the night and took off in the morning, carrying away some of Kane's possessions. A new party of Inuit visited the same day, led by old Shanghu. This party, too, made free with supplies and departed. Kane was incensed so when the next Inuit visited, he was captured and thrown into the hold. This individual, Myouk, managed to escape during the night. The Inuit, to this point, by their actions, had not gained the approval of either Hans nor Kane. They had proven to be curiosity driven, irresponsible, ungrateful and unthinking barbarians and Kane said as much.

Hans commented in his Memoir about Myouk in a very gentle way. Said he, "After his [Myouk's] departure no natives made their appearance more, I think they were frightened."[2]

Several sledge parties attempted to go north and to Jones Sound but storms and ice conditions forbade the white men's escape.

Dr. Kane wanted to face the winter in the ship, while a number of men under Dr. Hayes decided an attempt to reach the Inuit settlements to the south. Hans decided to stay with Kane, and Petersen decided to go with the renegade party -- each thus had an interpreter. In the meantime, Hans and Kane attempted new endeavours to catch seal -- fresh meat being so necessary for the warding off of scurvy.

Three Inuit visited the diminished party in the ship and made off with several items. Two of the crew were sent in pursuit of the thieves and finally they found Myouk in a hut, along with Sieva, the wife of Metek, and Angina, the wife of Aarsinga, plus the stolen articles. The women were brought back as captives to the ship and young Myouk sent to the headman, Metek, at Etah. The women waited five days and finally Metek and Ootuniah arrived with a sledge laden with all goods taken from the ship. Said Kane, "It confirmed them [the Inuit] in the faith that the whites are, and of right ought to be, everywhere the dominant tribe."[3] Kane was very much the master of the situation. In his own estimation he dealt promptly, effectively, and justly with lesser beings who must have a model of civilized justice. Kane went one step further. He concluded a treaty. In the treaty the Inuit agreed to the following:

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[2] Ibid., p. 26.

> We promise that we will not steal. We promise we will bring you fresh meat. We promise we will sell or lend you dogs. We will keep you company whenever you want us, and show you where to find game.[4]

The Americans, for their part, promised not to practice sorcery, but to give presents and to welcome the Inuit to the ship. Later, Kane was to write about this treaty:

> As long as we remained prisoners of the ice, we were indebted to them for valuable counsel in relation to our hunting expeditions; and in the joint hunt, we shared alike, according to their own laws. Our dogs were in one sense common property; and often have they robbed themselves to offer supplies of food to our starving teams. They gave us supplies of meat at critical periods; we were able to do as much for them. They learned to look on us only as benefactors; and I know, mourned our departure bitterly.[5]

By December, the Inuit brought back the party that had decided to leave the Advance, earlier. These Americans had been fed, clothed and then transported back to the ship by the Inuit. The party had become stranded some 250 miles to the south. The party would have starved had it not been for the generosity of Kaluhtuna. But Hayes did not seem to recognize generosity. He drugged Kaluhtuna and the other Inuit, took their food, clothes, supplies and dog teams and started back the 250 miles to the ship. Ironically, Hayes and his men could not handle the dogs. The drugged Inuit slept off the effects of the drugs, caught up to Hayes and his accomplices, fed them as well as gave comfort, and transported the whole group the remainder of the way to the ship (and without complaint). Kane can gush flattering remarks about an individual such as Kaluhtuna but this does not mitigate his devestating remarks on a whole group of people. The Europeans seemed able to recognize the contributions of an individual but to be incapable of extending those praises to a group of people. Nothing the individuals did seemed to raise the value the writers applied to the group. Of Kaluhtuna, Kane said:

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[3] Elisha Kent Kane, Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, 1853, '54, '55, 2 vols (Philadelphia: Childs and Petersen; London: Trubner and Company, 1856), p. 141.

[4] Ibid., p. 142.

[5] Ibid., p. 143.

> Kaluhtunah was a noble savage, greatly superior in everything to the others of his race. He greeted me with respectful courtesy yet as one who might rightfully expect an equal measure of it in return . . . He called me his friend, - 'Asakaoteeti,' "I love you well" he said "and would be happy to join 'nalegak-soak' in a hunt."[6]

Kaluhtuna joined the ensuing hunt. His skill and fresh dogs ensured success. Scurvy had worn out Kane's men just as overextended travel had exhausted the American's dogs.

In May, Kane decided that the remainder of the personnel of the expedition must abandon the ship and travel to the south where they could be picked up by a relief operation. Again, it was Hans who was delegated to make the plea for help to the natives of Etah. Says Kane:

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[6] Ibid., p. 168.

> The natives had responded to the brotherly appeal of the Nalegak [Captain]; and they came down from the settlement, bringing a full supply of meat and blubber, and every sound dog that belonged to them.[7]

But Hans did not return from Etah. Even Kane was not too condemnatory when he commented:

> Hans the faithful-yet, I fear, the faithless - was last seen on a native sledge, driving south from Pitoravik, with a maiden at his side, and professedly bound to a new principality Uwarrow Suk-suk, high up Murchison's Sound. Alas for Hans, the married man![8]

Hans told his side of the story in his own Memoir. Said he:

> A pity it was that our Master [Kane] behaved with haughtiness towards his crew. Also, once he treated me in a similar way. The occasion was as follows:- I had cut the head off a reindeer skin of my own catch, intending it for a sledge seat. I went to . . . [Christiansen] . . ., who was just taking a walk, and said to him: "The Master intends to shoot me for having cut the head from a reindeer skin; that is the only reason." [Christiansen] replied, "Don't be afraid, he will never shoot thee, I am going to say to him: we have another king." While he repaired to the ship, I stayed upon the ice, expecting I should be fired at . . . [Christiansen], on coming out again said: "There is no reason for thee to be afraid, only remain with us, I will be thy protector.
>
> From this moment I thought more and more of leaving them when they started for Upernivik.[9]

Kane emphasized the 'faithlessness' of Hans whereas Hans recounted some of the treatment he had been accorded. Hans had completed his mission; Kane and his party's rescue had been ensured. Hans had quite simply had enough of the mission; Hans' duty done, he had simply resumed his own life by getting married. Hans had endured much during the expedition. Kane had not the best of tempers. He had threatened to shoot people as in the case of Myouk, Hans and others. Divisions to the point of mutiny had riddled the American party. Hans, in his Memoir, felt he had been unjustly treated. He told of how he had warned the crew and consequently saved the ship when it caught on fire[10] and of another occasion when he had saved Kane from drowning.[11]

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[7] Ibid., p. 198.

[8] Ibid., p. 207.

[9] Hendrik, op. cit., p. 32.

The Inuit accompanied Kane in his sledge boat caravan to Cape Alexander. Kane described the send-off:

> There are Metek and Nualik, his wife, our old acquaintance Mrs. Eider Duck, and their five children, commencing with Myarek, my body guard, and ending with ventricose little Acconodah. There is Nassark and Anak his wife; and Sip-su, and Marsumak and Aningnah - and who was not? I can name them every one, and they know us well. We have found brothers in a strange land.[12]

Even Metek was led to say of Kane: "You have done us good. We are not hungry; we will not take (steal). You have done us good; we want to help you; we are friends."[13]

Kane felt at one with the Inuit when he said his good-bye. He had changed his opinion from the "whites are the dominant tribe" to "brothers in a strange land." The Inuit, also, after the initial difficulties, had concluded that the Americans were "friends." But the overall image emerged of the Inuit of Etah being hospitable, responding to pleas for help, supplying food and aid whenever requested and generally enjoying the visits of the white men. The Americans appeared as emotionally strained, over exerting themselves in a clime which they did not understand, over critical, over reacting and hypocritical.

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[10] Ibid., p. 28.

[11] Ibid., p. 30.

[12] Kane, op. cit., p. 206.

[13] Ibid., p. 207.

(62) Hans Hendrik Returns: United States North Polar Expedition: Issac Israel Hayes, 1860-61

Hans married the daughter of old Shanghu. In the intervening six years between the Kane and Hayes' expedition, Hans and Mersek lived at different places along the six hundred miles of narrow strip of country along the Greenland coast that centres on Etah. Here, everyone knew everyone else. Thirty-four of the people had perished in the intervening time period. The year before Hayes' arrival, the dogs suffered distemper. Kalatunah had become head man. Old Sipsu had died.

Hayes asked Hans to go north again and Hans agreed if Mersek and child could accompany him. Hans remembered the loneliness of the Kane years. Hans described how the three Inuit were scrubbed until Mersek cried.

Hayes hoped to reach even higher latitudes than had Kane. So, into the Smith Sound and the Kane Basin the expedition travelled. This time, Hayes hoped to winter on the North American side and fate determined that it would be Fort Foulke. Hayes brought along a Dane from South Greenland named Peter Jensen. Hans realized that Jensen did not like the Inuit even if he spoke the language. Jensen raided several Inuit graves and brought several mummies from these graves aboard ship. Mersek recognized the clothes of the mummies as belonging to dead relatives and raised a storm of protest. Hayes was forced to return the mummies to their resting place. He, nevertheless, was content with two skulls which were found among the rocks. He submerged the skulls and shrimp cleaned the skulls of their flesh. Ironically, when the United States hurriedly left harbour in the spring, Hayes forgot the skulls. All of the above is included in Hans' diary and it illustrated the fact that the Americans had no respect for the Inuit dead, were surprised at Mersek's reaction, and thereafter carried on their morbid curiosities in stealth. Nor were the Americans that tolerant of the other Inuit aboard the ship. Hayes had two other Inuit hunters aboard ship who were the butt of the crew's jokes. Even Mersek threatened to leave the ship and not to sew but Hans persuaded her to comply with requests.

The Inuit, however, did manage to store seventy-four reindeer, twenty-one foxes, twelve hare, six auks, eight dovekies, fourteen eiders, a ptarmigan and a seal in preparation for winter. As winter wore on, the dogs became infected with the dread dog disease. Finally, Hayes decided that the Inuit of Etah had to be contacted while there were still enough dogs to travel. Hans agreed to go along with August Sonntag. Sonntag fell through the ice and died later inspite of Hans' efforts. Hans continued on to the Greenland side to Cape York and brought back both Inuit and dogs. Hayes was not impressed by the fact that several of the Inuit who returned were Hans' in-laws. Tcheitchenguak was Mersek's father, Kablunet, her mother, and Angeit, her brother.[14] Kane thought that families should not be included in such expeditions; Hans argued that families were very much a part of every expedition.

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[14] Issac Israel Hayes, The Open Polar Sea. A Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery Towards the North Pole, in the Schooner "United States" (London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1867), p. 240.

Thus, the two world views clashed.

Hans was convinced that Hayes was suspicious of him not only for the death of Sonntag but also for the death of the Inuit Pele. When they reached Upernivik, Hans said of Hayes:

> Our master now appeared to be quite changed, full of love towards me, and liking me as he did in former years. He gave me a gun, which I took, but another rifle, which likewise he offered, I refused as it did not shoot straight. He also added tea and other provisions and pork, and a wage - sum of 72 dollars.[15]

Both Kane and Hayes seem to write as if they could never be contradicted, or as if any of the Inuit never had a thought of their own. Hans, in his comments on both Kane and Hayes, saw through the doctors' subterfuges and often acted in his own best interests.

Old Kalutunah [Kaluhtuna], the headman, plus Tattarat and Myouk, arrived near the end of February, 1861. Hayes described them thus:

> The excellence of Kalutunah's hunting equipment - his strong lines and lances and harpoons, his fine sledge and hearty, sleek dogs - bore ample evidence of the sagacity of the tribe [in choosing him as their chief or Nalegak]. Tattarat was a different style of person. His name signifies "The Kittiwake Gull," and a more fitting title could have been bestowed on him, for he was the perfect type of that noisy, chattering, graceful bird, thriftless to the last degree; and, like many other kittiwake gull or Harold Skimpole of society, he was in spite of thieving and other arts, always "out at elbows." Myouk was not unlike him, only he was worse, if possible. He was, in truth, one of Satan's regularly enlisted light infantry and was as full of tricks as Ammodeus himself.[16]

In view of the fact that Hayes and his party were not a little "out at the elbows" themselves most of the time, and that they had practised a few tricks themselves on this very same Kalatunah several years earlier,

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[15] Hendrik, op. cit., p. 46.

[16] Hayes, op. cit., p. 257.

Hayes had all the qualifications for recognizing these characteristics, since he possessed the same qualities himself.

Hans remained behind and the expedition moved off up Kennedy Channel under the direction of Kalahtuna. The party did manage to reach 81° 35' but they did it with terrible cost in effort. Hayes was finally convinced that the expedition had to be brought to a conclusion. The United States was badly in need of repair. Hayes had Hans make a census of the Etah people plus those of the entire six hundred mile coast of this part of Greenland. Hans counted seventy-three people. Hans and family were landed at Etah and he waited for another expedition. The Americans were now involved in their civil war and it would be eleven years (1870) before Hans would become a member of another American expedition aboard the Polaris with Charles Francis Hall commanding.

Hans had never forgotten the easier life which he had enjoyed in the south of Greenland and so during the next eleven years he gradually drifted south much as had the Inuit during the time of the Norsemen. Chester, one of Hall's men, found Hans at Proven, fifty miles south of Upernivik. Hans agreed to accompany this 1871 expedition if he could take Mersek and his three children. This time, Hans was characterized as driver, hunter and servant and the pay amounted to three hundred dollars per year. Aboard the Polaris, as well, were Ebierbing and Tookoolito, of whom more will be said later.

The Polaris had a comparatively easy sail through Smith Sound, Kane Basin, Kennedy Basin, Robson Channel into the Hall Basin and to Thank God Harbour where the crew made preparations to winter. This harbour was on the Greenland side. With Hall, Hans and party made a sledge trip to 82° 16'. On his return, Hall mysteriously became fatally ill. It later became established that Hall died of arsenic poisoning. Of those that mourned the loss of Hall, none did so more sincerely than the Inuit of the party. Hans mourned Hall's untimely death thus:

> When he [the man of the watch] had spoken this, I said to my wife: "He says our Commander is dead; how will it go with us hereafter, as he was the only one who took care of us? What mournful news, that he who loved us so kindly, lives no longer."[17]

The story of Hall and the Inuit will be discussed later. But one other conversation that Hans had with Ebierbing is very interesting. Hans reported it as follows:

> When it was daylight, and my comrade (Ebierbing) and I went out shooting, I said to him: "Why have they his horrible custom?" [punishment-flogging] My comrade answered: "Thine and my custom is to be ashamed of [the white men despise us?] I cannot speak about it." When he had said this, I was long silent, then I rejoined: "Although in some measure I have an idea of that custom, I am nevertheless unable to understand it quite[?]. Twice [I have seen it], first with . . . [Doctor Kane], the second time . . . [with Doctor Hayes?]. Whereupon he put in, "Yes, on board the man of war ships they are unable to abandon that custom. I should like to revenge a relative of mine, a Westlander, who was treated in the same way. And likewise I saw a Tuluk, a very handsome youth indeed [exposed to it?]. But we poor natives must be careful with regard to ourselves.[18]

The conversation between the two premier interpreters of this entire study had undercurrents. It showed the resentment of the two which rarely surfaced in the other journals. It demonstrated that these two resented and understood the barbarism of some of the customs to which they were exposed. It revealed the human feelings that beat within Inuit breasts.

But the winter did pass. Hans and Ebierbing did their best to supply the dissident crew with fresh meat. Then the ship was freed and Captain Budington was all for making full speed for home. But the ship was severely buffeted by the ice that flows down this channel out of the polar basin. At one point, the Inuit, part of the crew and Captain Tyson abandoned the ship for the ice floe. The Polaris was forced away from the stranded ice party so the expedition personnel were forcibly this time divided. Puney (Ebierbing's daughter), Tookoolito (Hannah or Ebierbing's wife), Ebierbing, Mersek, Hans, Little Charlie Polaris (born to Mersek during the winter), Hans' three other children plus eight men built huts upon the ice floe and waited for rescue. The white men quarrelled among themselves and acted childishly according to Nourse, the editor of the Hall journal. Hans and Ebierbing managed to hunt enough food to keep the whole party from starving. For six and one-half months, the Inuit fed, housed, advised and cared for the party. They drifted for some eighteen hundred miles and were finally picked up in the Atlantic by the Tigress.

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[17] Hendrik, op. cit., p. 55.

[18] Ibid., p. 57.

Of this episode in Arctic history, Mowat says:

> They [Tyson and party] had drifted eighteen hundred miles, calculated on a direct route, to accomplish what must be one of the most remarkable voyages, of any sort, in the human record. Yet it is a voyage that is seldom mentioned, except in the most perfunctory manner, by orthodox Arctic historians. The same treatment is meted out to Charles Hall's accomplishments. It is almost as if the whole Polaris episode is considered too embarrassing to discuss.[19]

Hans was not quite through with the "explorers" yet. First, he had to endure Washington with the endless time consumed by a

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[19] Farley Mowat, The Polar Passion (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 163.

Congressional Committee investigating the Polaris affair. Hans had the experience of visiting the Secretary of State, seeing the White House, riding on a train and seeing the cities of New York, Boston and Washington. Finally, Hans and family returned to Upernivik and home.

(71) A Scurvy Ridden Crew: British Naval North Polar Expedition: George S. Nares, 1875-76

Twenty-three years had elapsed since Hans Hendrik had been recruited by Kane in 1853. The British Naval North Polar expedition, organized by the British Admiralty, and under the command of George S. Nares, decided to enlist Hans for one more assault on the polar area. In addition, a Greenlander of Danish descent was recruited [Neil Christian Petersen]. Nares introduced another Inuit assistant, thus:

> Frederick the Eskimo, who joined us at Lievely to take charge of the dogs, has readily settled down to his work; his broad, flat, good-humoured face is certainly not handsome, but his character is most excellent and above all he is unmarried.[20]

Nares included in his description the looks, character, work habits and marital status. His criteria of selection of facts was due to his naval background.

Both Inuit interpreters and Greenlandic Inuit eagerly seized occasion to attempt to aid H.M.S. Alert and H.M.S. Discovery. In Melville Bay, a heavy fog set in. Tersely, Nares described the occasion.

> . . . two Esquimaux in their kayaks were observed close to us. After consulting with them through Christian Petersen . . . they volunteered to conduct us to an anchorage. On following them to

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[20] Sir George Strong Nares, Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea During 1875-76 in H.M. Ships "Alert" and "Discover" . . . With Notes on the Natural History Edited by H. W. Fielden, 2 Vols. (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1878), vol. 1, p. 24.

> the position they denoted, and obtaining no bottom with the hand-lead line at the main chains, I felt the bow of the ship glide slowly up on the ground. Through the fog we could see that the land was within fifty yards of us. The Esquimaux had evidently not considered that our ships required a greater depth of water to float in than their own frail canoes.[21]

Apparently the Inuit steared the ship into harbour but not a deep enough one. The Inuit had made assumptions about the draught of the ship and the English crew assumed that the Inuit understood such things as draught. Making assumptions is one of the shoals of intercultural non-communication.

The ships proceeded up the western side of the Kane Basin and Kennedy Channel until they came to Discovery Harbour on the northern side of Lady Franklin Bay.[22] Here they wintered. The Alert continued on up the Robson Channel to Floeberg Beach on Ellesmere.

On the second day in Discovery Harbour, Hans shot a Musk-ox and later he was to shoot six more.[23] The feeling of accomplishment that he had on these occasions began to dissipate, however, and as the winter wore on, Hans began to feel that he was being discriminated against by the sailors. Hans was lonely; Frederick was in the other ship; the officers relied upon Petersen for interpreting. Hans had no one with whom to converse and the crew mocked him for diversion. Hans even made the attempt to run away but there was no where to run in this far northerly location. Hans' behaviour had occurred before so it could be one of his traits of personality. Captain Stephensen, however, heard of the state of affairs and put a stop to the mocking antics of the crew.[24] Later, Stephensen demonstrated how Hans would blossom under praise.

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[21] Ibid., p. 2.

[22] Cooke, op. cit., p. 239.

[23] Hendrik, op. cit., p. 88.

Winter sledge expeditions deposited caches of supplies at Cape Joseph Henry, the northermost tip of Ellesmere Island. Preparations were thus made for other expected sledge trips.

Hans went with the expedition to visit the old Polaris winter house at Polaris Bay on the Greenland side. This sledge party under the command of Lewis A. Beaumont continued around the Greenland coast to Osborn Fjord but many of the party became ill with scurvy. Said Hans of the expedition returnees:

> They were in a pitiful state, suffering from scurvy, one of them having died, and only the officer and one man being able to walk properly. We made this place [Polaris Bay] our temporary settlement, while I undertook to catch seals for them. The doctor ordered them to eat seal flesh to recover strength.[25]

Another party came in with most of the men sick with scurvy. Hendrik reported that, "We now had three tents here a part of the summer. I caught seven Natsek and three Ugsuk seals. Their flesh was a sort of medicine to the invalids."[26]

Hendrik advised the officers to take the sleds over the ice to the ship before break up. Hendrik remained on the Greenland shore to pick up the men who had not returned to camp. Finally Stephensen arrived in a boat to pick up the remaining men. On the return journey, Hans reported:

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[24] Ibid., p. 90.

[25] Ibid., p. 95.

[26] Ibid., p. 97.

> When we were going, our Captain said: "Now, show us the road; go ahead of us, and we will follow." There upon we started, and crossed the open water in a boat. When we came to the heavy ice, I searched for the best road, accompanied by the Captain. He used to question me: "Which way are we to go?" I answered: "Look here; this will be better." It was lucky the Commander treated me as a comrade; I did not feel shy in speaking with him, as with other gentlemen.[27]

Hans blossomed under the felt utility for himself and under the guidance of Stephensen. All the previously mentioned hostility towards his mockers disappeared.

The expedition obviously could not attain its objective of reaching the pole. Nares praised his men for their bravery and courage. He had little to say about Frederick the Esquimaux and Petersen -- the latter lost his life in the expedition. For Hans, said Nares:

> All speak in the highest terms of Hans, the Esquimaux, who was untiring in his exertions with the dog-sledges, and in procurring game - it was owing to his patient skill in shooting seal that Dr. Coppinger was able to regulate the diet somewhat to his satisfaction.[28]

Nares, Dr. Coppinger, the British Admiralty investigators of the expedition and Hans all came to the same conclusion -- fresh meat stops the spread or development of scurvy.

(63) Tookoolito: Access to Oral Archives: United States Whaling Search: Charles Francis Hall, 1860-62

Thomas Hickey of the Second Grinnell expedition under Kane wrote in a letter of March 5, 1860, that "When we lived as Esquimaux, we immediately recovered and enjoyed our usual health" and that "White men can live where Esquimaux can" and still further that "some of Sir John Franklin's men are to be found living with the Esquimaux, and that they should be rescued and restored to their country and friends."[29] This confirmed what Charles Francis Hall already believed and this became the latter's credo for at least two of the three expeditions that Hall organized.

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[27] Ibid., p. 97.

[28] Nares, op. cit., p. 29.

By May 29, 1860, Hall had convinced Kudlago, an Inuit who had been brought to the United States by whaler captain S. O. Budington, to act as interpreter. Hall and Kudlago boarded the whaling ship, the George Henry. Their objective was a vague idea of catching a sea ride and then setting out for King William Land to find the "surviving members of the Franklin party."

Before the George Henry had even reached Greenlandic waters, Kudlago had died. This did not in any way deter Hall.

After a seventeen day stay in Holsteinbourg, the George Henry crossed Davis Straits and anchored in Kowtukjua Harbour (Frank Clark Harbour) in Cornelius Grinnell Bay, just south of Cumberland Sound and on Baffin Island.

On landing, Hall came into contact with a family whose members would give information, aid and contact to Hall and to other expeditions.

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[29] Charles Francis Hall, Life With the Esquimaux: The Narrative of Captain Charles Francis Hall, of the Whaling Barque "George Henry," from 29th May, 1860, to the 13th September 1862 (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1970), p. 5.

The matriarchal dame of the family was Oo-ki-jox-y Ninoo. Her offspring gave such service to Hall's and succeeding expeditions that the family tree may be examined with profit. The family tree is illustrated in Chart 4.

Ookijoxy Ninoo had lived at least a hundred years, Hall estimated. Her husband had shared as wives her half sister and herself. The latter had eight progeny. One daughter was the mother of Ebierbing. Still another daughter was the mother of Blind George or Paulooyer. A second son of Ookijoxy Ninoo was Ugarng who had thirteen wives. Another daughter married Chummy who visited the United States in 1861-62. All these individuals became intimately involved with Hall or other expeditions.

Ookijoxy Ninoo had been born on the island of An-nan-ne-toon on the north side of Hudson Strait probably in the 1760's. She had recited the Inuit oral tradition involving the Frobisher visit and the five escaped Englishmen to Hall. She was the grandmother of Ebierbing. When Hall made his inquiries, Tookoolito knew exactly the best source -- her grand-mother-in-law, Ookijoxy Ninoo.

Naturally, Hall met Ugarng, the son of the matriarch. At the time of Hall's visit, Ugarng was fifty to fifty-five years old.[30] Ugarng had visited the United States in 1854-55 and Hall reported him as saying of New York City, "G-- d---! too much horse - too much house - too much white people. Women? ah! Women great many - good!"

Another of Hall's informants was Blind George or Paulooyer.

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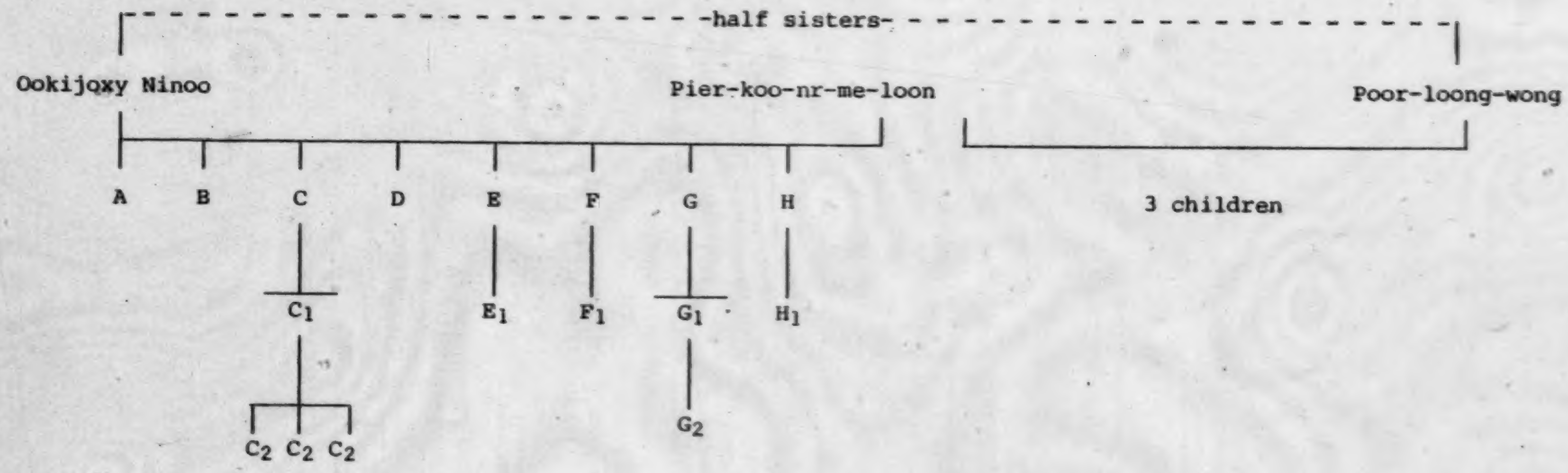
[30] Ibid., p. 82.

Chart 2

The Family Tree of Ookijoxy Ninoo


-half sisters-
Ookijoxy Ninoo
Pier-koo-nr-me-loon
Poor-loong-wong
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
3 children
C1
E1
F1
G1
H1
C2 C2 C2
G2

KEY:

1 Ookijoxy Ninoo and Poor-loong-wong were half sisters and both married to Pier-koo-ne-me-loon. Ookijoxy Ninoo had 8 children by her marriage and Poor-loong-wong had 3 by hers.

2 Children of Ookijoxy Ninoo

A Was a daughter who died at birth.

B Daughter - Tou-yer-nud-toon who married Pim-ma-in (who had formerly been a chief).

C Daughter of Noo-ker-pier-ung who married Ooyung. Their son was Ebierbing who married Tookoolitoo. They had three children Puny, Silvia and King William.

D Son Ugarng had thirteen wives. His child was Nikujar who was married to Blind George and the two latter had a daughter, Koo-koo-yer.

E Daughter - An-ner-surng married Mik-e-lug, had a son E-ber-loong (cross eyed son).

F Daughter Kood-lootoon married Chummy (who visited United States in 1861-62).

G Son - Now-er-kier-ung who married twice. Son Bob married to half sister of Blind George.

H Daughter, Oo-yar-ou-ye-ung married to Ookoodlear.

Paulooyer had served the American whalers well as a pilot prior to 1852-53 when he became blind. He had also picked up some English during the time of his service. He became blind as a result of an epidemic that swept the contact points in 1852-53.

When Blind George had his sight and served the whalers, he had been a power among his people. He exerted influence, he possessed prestige and he was respected by his own people. The Europeans by selecting George as their pilot had elevated him in the eyes of the Inuit. Then at that zenith he had been happily married to Nikujar and had by her an adored daughter, Koo-Koo-yer. His affliction came and he could no longer be of service to the whalers. Nikujar had attempted to provide but finally succumbed to being the wife of the powerful Ugarng. Now, Blind George, bereft of being of service to the Europeans, prestige from his countrymen, wife and even daughter, made plea to Hall to persuade Ugarng to allow poor Blind George access to his daugher. Hall did enter the plea and Blind George was allowed access to his daughter. Such was the power of Europeans to elevate or change the role of a person in the community or to intercede with great hope of success.

Into contact with this family came Hall. Hall, because of his own scanty resources, was forced to live with them and depend on them. As he lived, he commented and built images of them. Hall quotes an unknown author, with whom he agrees, in saying of the Inuit:

> . . . 'they are' singular composite beings - a link between Saxons and seals-hybrids, putting the seals' bodies into their own, and then encasing their skins in the seals, thus walking to and fro, a compound formation. A transverse section would discover them to be stratified like a rolly-polly pudding, only, instead of jam and paste, if their layers were noted on a perpendicular scale,

> they would range after this fashion: first of all, seal - then biped-seal in the centre with biped-and seal again at the bottom.[31]

Or again, Hall described the honesty of these people at Kowkukjua Harbour in contrast to those of whom he had read in the journals of earlier authors. Hall talked of Inuit inattention to looking after the sick and the dead. He even attempted to intervene to save some of the dying but they died in spite of his efforts. Hall attempted to interfere to stop Tookoolito from following the prescriptions of a "conjuror" when Tookoolito's child had taken ill but Tookoolito refused to take Hall's advice. Hall stormed at the obstinacy of these people whom he could not persuade to remain in King William Island but the people resolutely refused to remain. Hall's first images of the Inuit, like the one above, are analogies of animals. Later he proceeded beyond the analogy to a recitation of the animal's human qualities. Hall changed his image of the Inuit during his expeditions but he was haunted by his own inner controversy as to whether they were human or animal. Even at his end, Hall could not make the quantum leap to grant the Inuit human status.

While in the area and in company with Ugarng and wife, Kunniu, and Koojesse, the latter drew the area of Frobisher Bay for Hall (see Map 30). Hall, thus, came to realize that the Straits of Frobisher were in reality not straits but a bay. Koojesse thus put to rest for the literary public the myth invented by Frobisher some 284 years earlier and which persisted until the recognition of Inuit as "experts" was made.

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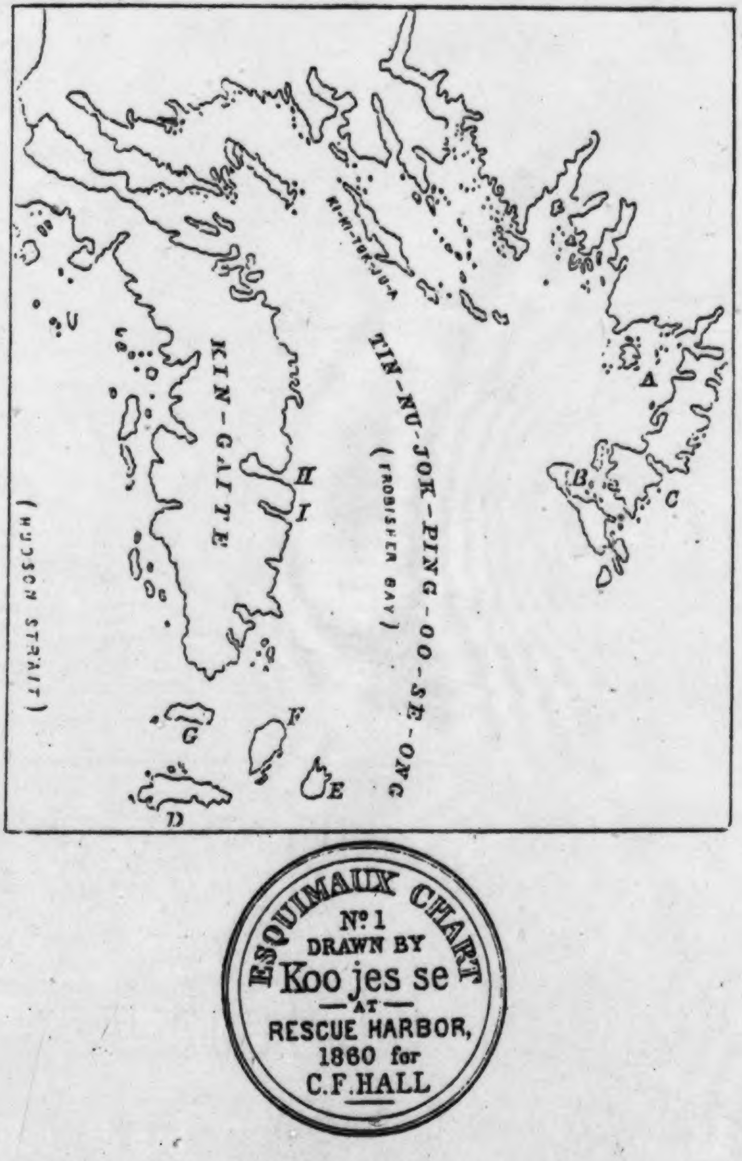
[31] Ibid., p. 84.


KIN-GAITE
TIN-NU-JOK-PING-OO-SE-ONG
(FROBISHER BAY)
(HUDSON STRAIT)
KI-MI-SOK-JUA
A
B
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
ESQUIMAUX CHART
Nº 1
DRAWN BY
Koo jes se
AT
RESCUE HARBOR,
1860 for
C.F. HALL

Map 30. Map Drawn by Koojesse for C. F. Hall

From: Charles Francis Hall, Life With the Esquimaux (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1970), p. 105.

Of the geographical knowledge of the Inuit, Hall wrote:

> The knowledge that the Esquimaux possess of the geography of their country is truly wonderful. There is not a part of the coast but what they can well delineate, when once it has been visited by them, or information concerning it obtained from others. Their memory is remarkably good, and their intellectual powers, in all relating to their native land, its inhabitants, its coasts, and interior parts, is of a surprisingly high order.[32]

Koojesse had like Ugarng been to the United States. Hall invited Koojesse to take him to King William Land, but Koojesse refused. Probably he recognized the difficulties involved.

Hall met a Captain Parker who had just employed a pilot by the name of Ebierbing or Eskimo Joe. Ebierbing was grandson of Ookijoxy Ninoo. Ebierbing had been to England and while there had married his countrywoman, Tookookito or Hannah. These two were to play a large role in Hall's succeeding ten years.

Tookoolito was none other than the sister of Toto and Eenoolooapik, both of the latter having travelled in England and Scotland.

Captain S. O. Budington first met Ebierbing and Tookoolito on the island of Kim-ick-su-ic in the fall of 1851. Budington remained the winter on the island where he was engaged in whaling. He formed a friendship with both individuals. Ebierbing, at the time, was married to another woman and Tookoolito was only twelve years of age.

Several years later, a Mr. Bolby, a merchant of Hull, had persuaded the above pair to come to England.[33] After marriage in England, Ebierbing and Tookoolito toured England and Scotland, and dined with

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[32] Ibid., p. 104.

[33] Ibid., p. 132.

Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. The travellers remained in England for two years and then returned to the Baffin area.

Tookoolito visited Hall aboard the George Henry on November 2, 1860.[34] The 'refinement' that Tookoolito had acquired in England impressed Hall. Later when Hall visited Tookoolito's igloo, Hall described some of the 'refinements:'

> Tookoolito, after returning from England five years ago [1855], where she and her winga [husband] spent twenty months, commenced diffusing her accomplishments in various ways, to wit, teaching the female portion of the nation, such as desired, to knit, and the various useful things practiced by civilization. In all the places around Northumberland Inlet she has lived, and done what she could to improve her hair, keeping her face and hands cleanly, and wearing civilization dresses -- others of her sex, in considerable numbers, follow these fashions imported by her.[35]

This led Hall to state, what many succeeding educators apparently believed to be a good model for 'education' of Inuit and Dene, that the 'education' is best accomplished by the people themselves through modelling or imitation. One Inuit sells that which is to be transmitted. Hall would also insist that the 'education' should be as defined in 'civilized' states.

Over tea, Tookoolito made comment on the whalers. Said she:

> I feel very sorry to say that many of the whaling people are very bad, making the Inuits bad too; they swear very much, and make our people swear. I wish they would not do so. Americans swear a great deal more - more and worse than the English. I wish no one would swear. It is a very bad practice, I believe.[36]

In this enactment of an English rite, the question arises whether

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[34] Ibid., p. 133.

[35] Ibid., p. 136.

[36] Ibid., p. 138.

Tookoolito is expressing Inuit or English Victorian morality.

So here in Cyrus W. Field Bay, an alliance was struck. Ebierbing and Tookoolito became ear, mouth and foot for this first Hall expedition. The two Inuit gave Hall the best means whereby he could solve a number of Arctic mysteries, write knowingly of Inuit life in the regions he visited, and make an entrance into the mysteries of the Inuit Oral Tradition.

Hall cultivated the friendship of the Inuit. Koojesse introduced him to the beauties of seal soup;[37] Blind George got Hall to intervene so that Ugarng allowed the father to see his 'pickaninny,' a phrase which either came from George's relations with the American whalers or from Hall himself. At any rate Hall knew the phrase from the American civil war period and used it.[38] Ming-u-mai-lo demonstrated his power as angeko[39] and Nukertou demonstrated how it is to die in Inuit fashion.[40]

Meanwhile, several of the George Henry's crew had become afflicted with scurvy. Captain Budington adopted the practice of sending men so afflicted to live with the Inuit to be fed exclusively on fresh meat. Hall wrote:

> They accompanied . . . the 'Inuit Bob' (King-what-che-ung), with whom Captain B__ [Budington] made distinct arrangements to care for them, providing for all their necessities. This Innuit Bob has a noble soul, one that prompts him to noble deeds, continually outpouring in behalf of the poor, the friendless, the unfortunate, and the sick. He is the one to whom Captain B. feels himself indebted for saving his life in the disastrous winter here of 1855-56, when he (Captain B.) lost thirteen of the crew of his vessel - the Georgiana - by scurvy.[41]

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[37] Ibid., p, 140.

[38] Ibid., p. 141.

[39] Ibid., p. 143.

[40] Ibid., p. 164.

[41] Ibid., p. 188.

Here Hall elevated "Innuit Bob" to the pedestal of a benevolent Victorian gentleman. Here, too, is another image of role performed by the Inuit and which the wise whaler recognized -- the role played by the Inuits as nurse and medical attendant. What Donaconna had done for Jacques Cartier was duplicated many times in Arctic waters.

The story has its sequel, however, and it is a sad one. One of the men, John Brown, sent over to 'Innuit Bob' decided to make his own way home from Oopangmewing. Brown became lost and the fact became known aboard the George Henry. Instantly, a search party was organized. The party travelled some fifty-one miles before 'Innuit Charlie' found the body. Brown had refused to take the advice of either the Inuit or Captain Budington who had suggested taking the advice of the Inuit especially when travelling. The Inuit performed this act of search and rescue many times before and after the finding of the body of Brown.

Hall also narrated the story of several parties of Inuit who were marooned on ice floes and how the Inuit had kept alive for long periods of time. Hall cited Samson, so named for his physical size, and a party of fifteen others who survived a thirty day drift in 1859.[42] Still another party were adrift for three months. Not only did these Inuit teach how to live with adversity, but they taught "endurance" and the "Never say die" attitude as well. Hall was led to observe the following about enduring in northern storms:

> A lesson to be gathered from this . . . is to allow the natives to do what they consider best in such times. They thoroughly understand the way to prepare for and withstand the warring elements of their own regions, and it is well for whitemen always to heed their advice, however unreasonable it may seem to be at the time.[43]

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[42] Ibid., p. 215.

[43] Ibid., p. 220.

Hall is saying that it is wise to take the advice of the Inuit in travel matters. They know the country and the climate. What the Inuit say may seem to be unreasonable at the time to the uninitiated but it is based on Inuit knowledge of survival techniques.

On April 8, 1861, Koojesse made vague reference to the time when Kod-lu-nas had built a vessel in lower Frobisher Bay. Koojesse spoke of the "mik-e-oo-koo-loo-aug" (small red pieces of brick), timber, chips, etc. that had been left there.[44] Hall knew the story of Frobisher but he knew of no one building a boat in the bay. But Koojesse insisted that the oral tradition of his people told of white men who build a boat and then sailed off to the east. Hall decided to investigate the site of which the Inuit told him.

Ebierbing reminisced that when he was a boy on the island of Oopunggnewing he played with oug (something red or bricks) and coal. When he was in Britain in 1855, Ebierbing noted that the buildings were made of the same red material or bricks. Likewise, he remembered how the elders had told him of the time a great many years ago when ships came into the Bay Tin-nu-jok-ping-oo-se-ong (Frobisher Bay).[45]

Tookoolito next took Hall to old Ookijoxy Ninoo. Hall compared the information the old lady gave him with that of written history. In the words of Hall, said he (using Barrow's Chronological History of Arctic Discovery as a basis for written history):

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[44] Ibid., p. 220.

[45] Ibid., p. 245.

> Written history tells that Frobisher made three voyages to the Arctic regions as follows:-
>
> First voyage in 1575, with two vessels.
> Second voyage in 1577, three vessels.
> Third voyage in 1578, fifteen vessels.
>
> Traditionary history informs me that a great many, many years ago the vessels of white men visited the bay (Frobisher's) three successive years:-
>
> First, in two vessels.
> Second, in three vessels.
> Third in many vessels.
>
> But this is not all that traditionary history gave me on that day. Written history states that Frobisher lost five of his men on his first voyage when conveying a native on shore. Oral history told me that five white men were captured by Innuit people at the time of the appearance of the ships a great many years ago; that these men wintered on shore (whether one, two, three or more winters, could not say); that they lived among the Innuits; that they afterwards built an oomien (large boat), and put a mast in her, and had sails; that early in the season, before much water appeared; they endeavoured to depart; that, in the effort, some froze their hands; but that finally they succeeded in getting into open water, and away they went, which was the last seen or heard of them. This boat, as near as I could make out at the time, was built on the land that Frobisher and his company landed upon, viz. Niountelik.[46]

The old lady made further comments on wood, chips, coal, bricks and iron that she had seen on Niountelik.

Hall did not take long to make the connection between the three hundred year preservation of the Frobisher story via the oral tradition and "what may not be gleaned of Sir John Franklin's Expedition of only sixteen years ago?"[47] Hall was quick to cite the case of La Perousse, the conqueror of Hearne's Fort Prince of Wales, who was lost in the Indian Ocean, and how one Captain Dillon found out the fate of La Perousse after thirty-eight years by questioning the natives. And so the events of 1576,

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[46] Ibid., p. 247.

[47] Ibid., p. 248.

1782 and 1844 became connected. All this suggested a method of operation to Hall.

Ookijoxy Ninoo told another story and in the words of Hall, it went thus:

> A great many years ago, before I (Ookijoxy Ninoo) was born, the Innuits all around these bays were very many. The number of Innuits on Ki-Ki-tuk,ju-a (Lok's Land of Frobisher) and the other islands in that direction was great; but at one they were nearly all out on the ice, when it separated from the land and took them out to sea. They never came back, nor did any Innuit ever hear of them again. Since then, Innuits never live there, nor ever visit the place.[48]

Thus extracted from Ookijoxy Ninoo, came the story of why the north shore extremities of Frobisher Bay were not frequented by the Inuit of Hall's time.

One more piece of evidence of the potency of the Inuit oral tradition Hall obtained from Ookgooalloo who drew a map of the north shore of Hudson Strait or the south shore of Baffin Island. Ookgooalloo gave information which exactly matched the occurrings that are reported by Parry and Lyon on July 31, 1821.[49]

The stories of Koojesse and Ookijoxy Kinoo merely whetted Hall's desire to visit the Ki-Ki-tuk-ju-a and the sites of Frobisher. Finally by August 8, 1861, Hall in company with Koojesse and his wife, Tu-nuk-der-lien (Belle), Koo-per-ne-ung (Charlie) and his wife Ak-chuk-er-zhun (Susy), Koodloo and the widow Koo-ou-le-arng (Suzki), made his attempt to get to the end of Frobisher Bay.

This sub-expedition moved into the Bay with the women acting as crew and Hall as the steersman of the boat. The first island visited was Niountelik in the Countess of Warwick Sound. Hall stated:

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[48] Ibid., p. 249.

[49] Ibid., p. 264.

> On casting my eyes all around, seeing and feeling the character (moss aged, for some of the pieces I saw had pellicles of black moss on them) of the relics before and under me. I felt as - I cannot tell what my feelings were. What I saw before me was the sea-coal of Frobisher's expedition of 1578, left here near three centuries ago.[50]

On questioning Koo-ou-le-arng, Hall ascertained that the Inuit had cooked with the coal and Koo-ou-le-arng informed Hall that the coal had come from the time when white men in a big ship had come here. Hall interpreted the find in the following manner:

> Because of the discovery I have made today of what is a confirmation of the testimony - oral history - I had acquired by great perserverance from the Innuits . . . that . . . [white men with big ships] came into the bay . . . ; . . . this . . . [was] . . . the bay that Frobisher discovered in 1576, and revisited consecutively in the years 1577 and 1578, and that Niountelik . . . was the identical one [island] on which Frobisher landed with the object of establishing winter quarters for the colony of a hundred men that he brought here in his last voyage, to wit in 1578![51]

As Hall coasted about the islands and the bay, Koojesse,

> . . . - the really gifted Esquimaux - . . . acted as my assistant draughtsman, his sketches, however, being carefully examined by me. While I sat in the boat's stern steering - a position which allowed me to have good views of the land - he sat before me actually laying down most correctly upon paper the coast line along which we sailed, and which he was well as Suzhi and Tunakderlien, was perfectly familiar. There was not a channel, cape, island, or bay, which he did not know perfectly, having visited them again and again.[52]

In the course of the passage along the north shore of Frobisher Bay, many stops were made to stay with friends. Old Artarkparu confirmed the story of Ookijoxy Ninoo.[53]

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[50] Ibid., p. 328.

[51] Ibid., pp. 329-30.

[52] Ibid., p. 335.

[53] Ibid., p. 345.

While coasting to the end of Frobisher Bay, old Tweroong, the mother of Kooperneung of Hall's crew, told of an island near Niountelik where a few white men had built a boat. These were, Hall hypothesized, the five lost men of 1576. On August 24, 1861, Tweroong also drew for Hall "with remarkable skill, a rough outline of Frobisher Bay, Resolution Island, and other islands about it, and the north shore of Hudson's (sic) Strait."[54] Too-loo-ka-ah was not to be outdone and he sketched the coast above and below Sekoselar.[55] Further, Ninguarping drew a pencil sketch of the Kingaite or south shore of Frobisher Bay.[56] Hall succeeded in locating both the Sylvia and Jordan Rivers at the end of Frobisher Bay under the direction of his Inuit crew.

Hall returned to the north side of the Bay on the return journey, once more visited Niountelik and then to the island where the oral tradition had it that Frobisher's men built their ship. On the island, the mining trench existed. On the north shore Hall found what he considered to be a ship's trench. He also found the ruins of a house made of "lyme and stone." The island was called Kod-lu-narn because, said the Inuit, "white men lived on it, and built stone houses, and also a ship." Hall maintained:

> The evidence was contained in the following objects which I saw around me, viz-Coal; flint stone; fragments of tile, glass, and pottery; an excavation which I have called an abandoned mine; a trench made by the shore on an inclined plane, such as is used in building a ship on the stocks; the ruins of three stone houses, one of which was twelve feet in diameter, with palpable evidence of its having been erected on a foundation of stone cemented together with lime and sand; and some chips of wood which I found on digging at the base of the ship's trench.[57]

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[54] Ibid., p. 355.

[55] Ibid., p. 355.

[56] Ibid., p. 358.

[57] Ibid., p. 391.

Hall and Budington, on the return trip, discussed returning home, but the George Henry was sealed in its harbour by ice in 1862. Hall questioned an old Inuit, Kar-ping and he told Hall that the five men had built their ship from lumber brought over by Frobisher and that this lumber had been hidden in the bottom of the mine.[58] Kar-ping said only three men built the boat while the others stood around watching "like Captains." Neither did the Inuit help in the building of the boat, said the old man, but he said that they did help with the launching.[59]

An Inuit old woman, Petato, said that five Kabloona had built two dug-outs, one to catch fresh water and one in which to build the ship. Petato said that she had heard that the five remained one winter, built their ship and then sailed away. Apparently on this attempt, the ice brought them back. The Inuit built igloos on Kodlunarn for the men but they died. Hall estimated that Petato heard the story through six generations.[60]

Another Inuit, Kooksmith, pointed out where the five kabloona had masted the ship. The vessel had apparently been built in one spot and then moved to another area so that it could have its masts put on. Kooksmith even demonstrated how the mast had been raised to its upright position. Tweroong also demonstrated how the mast had been raised using objects. She indicated that there were two masts rather than three.[61] Hall later learned that a word had been coined -- "Ne-poo-e-tie subbing." The translation of which was "to set up masts." Hall was led to observe:

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[58] Ibid., p. 433.

[59] Ibid., p. 433.

[60] Ibid., p. 438.

[61] Ibid., p. 440.

> How long it does take to gather in all the links of this chain three hundred years old! I am convinced that were I on King William's Land and Boothia, and would I live there two years, I could gather facts from the Innuit - that would astonish the civilized world.[62]

In 1862, Hall made one more sledge trip up Frobisher Bay accompanied by Ebierbing, three other Inuit and four crewmen. When Hall arrived back at the George Henry, he received agreement of Ebierbing and Tookoolito that they would accompany Hall back to the United States in order to organize a visit to King William Land. Said Hall:

> That the Innuit are still living who know all about the mysterious termination of that expedition I have not the shadow of a doubt. What is requisite is to visit those regions, get and establish friendly relations among the Innuits there, become familiar with their language, and then learn of them the history of that expedition.[63]

This is a recipe for resurrecting some of Canada's earliest history.

Hall had one more encounter with Ookijoxy Ninoo. This time, the old lady gave him the name of a headman who lived at that time named E-loud-ju-arng. When the five escaped white men were ready to leave, E-loud-ju-arng had a song made "wishing the Kodlunas a quick passage and much joy, and he caused his people, who were then very numerous to sing."[64] Certainly, this was one of the first commissioning of an artistic composition in northern Canada! Ookijoxy Ninoo further named another Inuit who had observed the Kodlunas as "Man-nu."[65] She also sketched a diagram of an ancient monument that Frobisher and his men had constructed."[66]

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[62] Ibid., p. 441.

[63] Ibid., p. 496.

[64] Ibid., p. 497.

[65] Ibid., p. 497.

[66] Ibid., p. 498.

The five men had escaped to or been taken by the Inuit in 1576. In 1577 and 1578, they had watched with the Inuit the antics of the visiting Englishmen. They had noted where Frobisher hid the lumber on the last expedition and the next winter they had built their ship. They had sailed away in 1579 but had returned with frozen hands because their attempt was too early. They could have either sailed again or died on Kodlarnun Island.

Thus came the story of what had happened in 1579 about 284 years earlier. It had been transmitted by the oral tradition over all that time. To Hall, it was conclusive proof that the secret about the ships and crew of the lost Franklin expedition lay with the Inuit. In Tookoolito and Ebierbing, Hall considered himself to have the keys which would unlock that secret.

(65) Ebierbing: An Island and an Ice Floe: United States Franklin Search, Charles Francis Hall, 1864-69 and 1870-72

Hall had moved with remarkable success in south Baffin Island. While his geographic exploits were modest, his writings about the South Baffin people were brilliant. He had as his facilitators Ebierbing and Tookoolito. These two were on their home ground. They knew what individuals to contact. The story of Frobisher had been very dramatic and there had not been a number of other visits of the Kabloona to confuse the stories. Hall's resulting success with resuscitating a three hundred year old set of facts could be predicted. Hall hoped to have the same success as soon as he could mount his next expedition to King William Land.

But, predictably, Hall could not have the same success in seeking the fate of the last Franklin expedition crew. His allies, Ebierbing and Tookoolito, were not on their home ground. Language was the same but the two interpreters were not familiar with the people. The stage from Melville Peninsula to King William Land was twice as large as South Baffin. Difficult terrain and new conditions existed for hunting. A bevy of expeditions since Parry had visited the area. The input by the whitemen into the oral machine had made it possible that the product emerged as confused or garbled. Hall's results were noteworthy, nevertheless.

Hall threw himself into frenzied activities to raise resources for his second expedition after his 1862 return to the United States. Ebierbing and Tookoolito remained with the family of Captain Budington - emerging to spark interest in Hall's lectures.

Hall contented himself with a three party expedionary group -- himself, Ebierbing and Tookoolito. He sailed with the whalers and the Monticello deposited him on the mainland opposite Roes Welcome Sound more than 60 kilometers south of Wager Bay at Noo-wook.

Hall began his inquiries by stating his desire to go to I-wil-lik (Repulse Bay) and thence to Neitchil-le (Felix Peninsula).[67] He found the local Inuit to be knowledgeable about the position of these places and of the routes which must be taken to get there. The peoples said they knew of the two ships that had been lost near Neitchil-le, of the many

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[67] J. E. Nourse, ed., Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition Made by Charles F. Hall: His Voyage to Repulse Bay, Sledge Journeys to the Straits of Fury and Hecla and to King William's Land, and Residence Among the Eskimos During the Years 1864-69 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 64.

Kabulunas that had died in that vicinity. There were four of the Kablunat that had not died. The people counselled against going to I-willik at this season of the year because of the scarcity of the game there and they specifically warned of the crossing of the Pelly Bay territory. But the people of Noo-wook offered to take the party to Repulse Bay after this winter. Hall could only wait for the next season. Tookoolito sewed seven complete suits of clothing -- two of them for Hall. Ebierbing hunted for the household while Hall continued querying after the fate of Franklin.

A local resident of Noo-wook, Ar-too-a, recalled incidents from the Rae expedition of 1846-47. Artooa recalled how Ooligbuck had been seriously wounded. Further, Artooa and his brother, Ouela, and Shu-she-ark-nook had seen Rae in 1846 and again in 1854. All remembered Rae's interpreter, Ivitchuk. All this Hall checked with the narrative of Rae's Expedition to the Arctic Seas and found the information to be correct.[68]

By December 10, 1864, Hall could excitedly write to Chapel the following:

> The most important matter that I have acquired relates to the fact that there may yet be three survivors of Sir John Franklin's Expedition . . . and one of these, Crozier . . . and three men with him were found by Ouela (Albert), Shoo-she-ark-nook (John), and Ar-too-a (Frank), while moving on the ice from one igloo to another; this cousin having with him his family and engaged in sealing. This occurred near Neitchille (Boothia Felix Peninsula). Crozier was nothing but "skin and bones" was nearly starved to death, while the three men with him were fat. The cousin soon learned that the three fat men had been living on human flesh, on the flesh of their companions who all deserted the two ships that were fast in mountains of ice; while Crozier was the only man that would not eat human flesh, and for this reason he was almost dead from starvation. This cousin . . . took

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[68] Ibid., p. 66.

> Crozier and the three men at once in charge. He soon caught a seal, and gave Crozier a little - a very little piece, which was raw - only one mouthful the first day . . . The next day the cousin gave Crozier a little larger piece of the same seal. By the judicious care of this cousin for Crozier, his life was saved . . . This noble man [Shoo-she-ark-nuk] . . . took care of Crozier and the three men, save one who died, through the whole winter . . . In the spring, Crozier and the remaining two men, accompanied this cousin on the Boothia Felix Peninsula to Neitchille, where there were many Innuits. Crozier and each of his men had guns and plenty of ammunition . . . Crozier told this cousin that he was once at Iwillik (Repulse Bay), at Winter Island and Igloolik, many years before, and that at the two last named places he saw many Innuits, and got acquainted with them . . .
>
> Crozier and the two men lived with the Neitchille some time. The Innuits liked him (C.) very much, and treated him always very kindly. At length Crozier, with his two men and one Innuit, who took along a kiak [an India rubber boat, as Ebierbing thinks it was] left Neitchille to try to go to the Kabluna country, taking a south course. . .
>
> . . . Crozier offered to give his gun to the cousin for saving his life, but he would not accept it, for he was afraid it would kill him . . . Then Crozier gave him, a long curious knife . . . Crozier told the cousin of a fight with a band of Indians . . . This must have occurred near the entrance of the Great Fish or Back River.[69]

Hall was in a great state of excitement when he wrote this letter. He had received so much information in a place far removed from King William Island. He instinctively believed every part of the testimony of the Inuit. Hall thought that if he could receive so much at this great distance from the scene of action, then what gems might he receive when he got to King William Island.

But Hall was restricted to gathering information. If provisions were short, and relations with the Inuit at Noo-wook were difficult, there was no shortage of stories. Old Mother Ook-bar-loo and the son of Erktua had been one of the visiting groups to the Parry and Lyon expedition of 1821-23. Erktua had witnessed the flogging administered to Oo-oo-took.

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[69] Ibid., pp. 108-109.

While the facts as given by Parry and the oral tradition were congruent, the consequences and interpretations differed.

Oo-oo-took proved guilty of the theft of a shovel. Parry had Oo-oo-took seized and tied to the mast. Two guns were fired at him with bullets coming close but not causing harm to his person. One of the guns that Parry had planned to use was found to be cracked and so was replaced. Then Parry had Oo-oo-took lashed.

According to Parry:

> The delinquent was, therefore, put down into the Fury's storeroom passage and closely confined there for several hours; when, having collected several of the natives on board the Fury, I ordered him to be stripped and seized up in their presence, and to receive a dozen lashes on the back with a cat-o'-nine tails. The instant this was over his countrymen called up, "Ti-mun, ti mun-na" (that's right, that's right) and seemed much relieved from the fright they had before been in while the fate of the thief seemed doubtful; but in three minutes after, not one of them were to be found near the ships, for they hurried off to the huts as fast as their legs and sledges could carry them. The example proved just what we desired; in less than eight and forty hours, men, women and children came to the ships with the same confidence as before, always abusing Oo-oo-took, pronouncing themselves as uncommonly good people, but evidently more cautious than before of really incurring our displeasure. The occurrence just related, instead of being placed to the account of these people's bad propensities, rather served to remind us of the rareness of such occurrences, and, therefore, to furnish fresh proof of their general honesty.[70]

According to Erktua:

> The Innuit standing around and witnessing all this wanted to help Oo-oo-took defend himself, but he said: "Let the Kob-lu-nas try to kill me; they cannot, for I am an an-nat-ko." Then Oo-oo-took's hands were untied, after which the Kob-lu-nas tried to cut his head and hands off with long knives . . . Every time a blow was struck, the extreme end of the knife came close to Oo-oo-took's throat; occasionally the blade came just above the crown of his head, and when the attempt was made to cut off his

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[70] Parry, op. cit., p. 412.

> hands the long knife came down very near his wrists; but, after all, he was uninjured because he was a very good An-nat-ko.[71]

In like manner, the witnessing Inuit believed that Oo-oo-took withstood all efforts of the whitemen to hurt him. The cracked rifle illustrated the power of Oo-oo-took. As the whitemen struggled to put Oo-oo-took in the hold he injured a number of them. He was thrown in the hold for two days and nights without food but one of the Kablunas slipped him some food. Oo-oo-took called on the Good Spirit and caused the Fury to be wracked with great noises which the Kabluna greatly feared.

The two versions illustrate the conflict of values between the two cultures. The Inuit valued the life of Oo-oo-took and feared for his safety. Relieved that Oo-oo-took had not been harmed, they accepted Oo-oo-took's version. It was not their custom to question the integrity of a person. Certainly, they remembered the barbarity of the whiteman's custom as Hans has previously stated. To Parry, Oo-oo-took was a thief justly punished; to the Inuit he was a superior shaman, a hero who withstood all that Parry could do to him. To Hall, the story was another proof that incidents, if properly sorted and analyzed, would reveal the truth of what had happened even if the incident occurred some forty-three years before.[72]

Hall wintered during 1865-66 at Fort Hope where Little King William was born to Tookoolito. Hall continued to gather information for his proposed trip to King William Land. For example, Arm-ou (the

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[71] Nourse, op. cit., p. 112.

[72] Ibid., p. 114.

Wolf) drew for Hall a chart that extended from Fort Churchill to Lancaster Sound with all the bays, inlets, and straits included. Hall calculated the distance to be contained in 15° of latitude or 966 nautical miles. Arm-ou had travelled all this distance in his lifetime.[73]

By March 31, 1866, Hall made his first attempt to reach King William Island. He reached Cape Weynton on the western shore of Committee Bay where he met a number of Inuit who showed him relics of the Franklin expedition. Tookoolito served as interpreter while Koo-lee-arng-nun, the headsman at Cape Weynton, and his aged wife, Koo-narng, provided the narrative and some relics.

Kok-lee-arng-nun possessed two spoons given him by Ag-looka and Koonarng had a silver watch case. These Inuit said they had been aboard the Esh-e-mut-ta or Sir John Franklin's ship. They spoke of one ship not far from Pelly Bay and two to the westward of Neit-tee-lik. Koh-lee-arng-nun was "a big boy when very many men from the ships hunted took-too [caribou]. They had guns, and knives with long handles, and some of their party hunted the took-too on the ice; killing so many they made a line across the whole bay of Ook-goo-lik.[74]

Franklin was given the name Too-loo-ark and Crozier as Ag-loo-ka, according to the two informants. Too-loo-ark, an old, stout man with spectacles had gray hair, full face and bald head. He was very kind and always wanted the Inuit to eat. Ag-loo-ka took orders from Too-loo-ark. Kok-lee-arng-nun showed how Too-loo-ark and Aglooka would greet them by shaking hands. "After the first summer and first winter, they saw no more of Too-loo-ark; then Aglooka was the Eshemutta."

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[73] Ibid., pp. 225-26.

[74] Ibid., p. 256.

One ship, said the two, was overwhelmed with heavy ice and finally ended up on its side. The ship's company later died because of the lack of provisions, many of which had gone down with the ship. Aglooka and a steward had started out toward the Great Fish or Back's River, so said the two informants.

The other ship spoken of, as seen near Ook-goo-lik and westward of Neit-tee-lik having three masts and four boats hanging at her side, had been abandoned by the Kablunas. The Inuit had been aboard her and taken what they wanted.

Hall also received a report that the Inuit had found two boats with dead Koblunas in them -- both boats were on sledges and one of the sledges was now in the possession of In-nook-poozh-e-jook.[75]

All this reported knowledge only gave Hall the more motivation to reach King William Island. The Inuit were anxious to return and Tookoolito's son King William was ill so Hall reluctantly gave up for the time being and returned to Harbour Islands in Repulse Bay. Little King William died there. This was Tookoolito's second loss and all while on service with Hall. The winter of 1866-67 passed at Repulse Bay.

In 1868, Hall visited Igloolik and Weynton. His travels extended to Fury and Hecla Strait and then back to Repulse Bay. During Hall's travels, Nood-loo, a native of Igloolik, drew a map of Murray Maxwell Inlet which is just south of Fury and Hecla Straits.[76] Oongerluck charted Admiralty Inlet on the north end of Baffin Island.[77] Innuit Papa drew a map of Lyon Inlet[78] and a further one of Pond's Bay.[79]

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[75] Ibid., p. 257.

[76] Ibid., p. 351.

Finally by March 23, 1869, Hall set out on his last attempt to reach King William Land. By May 12, he had reached the Todd Islands, searched the south eastern shore of King William and then returned to Repulse Bay. His letter to Henry Grinnell, his financial backer, illustrated most succinctly what he had found:

> None of Sir John Franklin's companions ever reached or died on Montreal Island . . . in July, 1848 . . . Crozier and his party of about forty or forty-five passed down the west coast of King William's Land in the vicinity of Cape Herschel. The party was dragging two sledges on the sea-ice, which was nearly in its last stages of dissolution . . . Just before Crozier and party arrived at Cape Herschel, they were met by four families of natives [Tutkeeta, Owwer, Togshooartharia and another Inuit], and both parties went into camp near each other. Two Eskimo men [Tutkeeta and Owwer] . . . gave me . . . a confession that they, with their companions, did secretly and hastily abandon Crozier and his party to suffer and die for need of fresh provisions, when in truth it was in the power of the natives to save every man alive.[80]

Hall reported the skeleton found by McClintock southward and eastward of Cape Herschel, the camping spot of the Franklin party three miles eastward of the Pfeffer River where two graves were found, and the spot five miles eastward where one man was buried. Then eastward still, two and one half miles, was Todd Island where lay the remains of five men. On the west side of Point Richardson was the boat with the bodies of some thirty to thirty-five of Crozier's party. This was on the mainland indicating that Crozier's party had succeeded in crossing Simpson Strait.

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[77] Ibid., p. 335.

[78] Ibid., p. 364.

[79] Ibid., p. 370.

[80] Ibid., p. 416.

The natives had found a large tent at the head of Terror Bay on the southwest side of King William Island. Continuing with his letter, Hall stated:

> I tried hard to accomplish far more than I did, but not one of the company would on any account whatever consent to remain with me in that country and make a summer search over that island . . . Knowing as I now do the character of the Eskimo in that part of the country in which King William's Land is situated, I cannot wonder at nor blame the Repulse Bay natives for their refusal to remain there, as I desired. It is quite probable that, had we remained there as I wished, no one of us would ever have got out of the country alive . . . The native who conducted my native party in its search over King William's Land is the same individual who gave Dr. Rae the first information about white men having died to the westward of where he (Dr. Rae) then was (Pelly Bay) in the spring of 1854. His name is In-nook-poo-zhe-jook, and he is a native of Neitchille, a very great traveller and very intelligent. He is, in fact, a walking history of the fate of Sir John Franklin's expedition. This native I met when within one day's journey of King William's Land - off Point Dryden; and, after stopping a few days among his people, he accompanied me to the places I visited on and about King William's Land . . .
>
> . . . The same year that the Erebus and Terror were abandoned one of them [the Franklin ship] consumated the Great Northwest Passage, having five men aboard.[81]

Rae had met In-nook-poo-zhe-jook, heard his story and returned immediately to England without visiting the places of which In-nook-poo-zhe-jook spoke. Hall, with his intense belief in the truthfulness of the story, had taken In-nook-poo-zhe-jook back to the scene of the story. True, Hall's time was limited by the uneasiness of his companions but he is the more thorough detective.

Hall had great faith in Inuit veracity and the Inuit integrity in matters of geography and historic recall. Hall recognized the accompanying Inuit realism in that this group of strangers could not stay in the land of the Netsilik without unfortunate consequence. There existed a ritual for Inuit going into strange country just as one existed for foreign ambassadors at the Court of St. James and Hall had insisted on breaking every part of that formula in his investigative quest. The Inuit had no alternative but to quickly retreat and Hall, in retrospect, recognized this. Hall had put both life and thesis (that oral report of the Inuit would reveal circumstances of the last days of the ships and crew of Franklin) in the hands of Inuit and their veracity and humanity had proven supportive of both.

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[81] Ibid., p. 418.

This trip had taken ninety days. Hall had noted on his return that the country through which he had travelled on his return journey was rich with game. Chauncey Loomis says: "Twenty years before, more than a hundred men had died of starvation and scurvy not far from where he was seeing herds of fat musk-ox and caribou."[82]

Nourse, the editor of Hall's 1864-69 papers, claims that Tookoolito came with Hall to the United States because she feared that Ebierbing would take another wife. Indeed, Ebierbing had been prescribed for by an anjeko and the anjeko had prescribed another wife if Ebierbing wished to get rid of the illness to which he was prone. Ebierbing's uncle, U-jack, said Nourse, "was reported as having twenty wifes, three of them living at one time."[83] This, in all probability, was Ugarng of Hall's My Life with the Esquimaux. After stating the valued contribution of Ebierbing, Nourse returned immediately to Ebierbing's supposed faults. Ebierbing listened to the anjeko or might have but there is superstition suggested. Neither can Nourse resist the temptation of suggesting promiscuity on the part of Ebierbing and Ugarng. Nourse and Hall's writings reflect the Victorian shock at the Inuit system of marriages. For the Inuit this system had its merits but for Victorians it was paganism at its worst.

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[82] Chauncey Loomis, Weird and Tragic Shore (New York: Knopf, 1971), p. 226.

[83] Nourse, op. cit., p. 444.

Hall purchased a house for Ebierbing and Tookoolito in Groton, Connecticut. They hadbrought an adopted daughter Sylvia [Puney, Punna] with them in 1869. For two years the little family settled in their house and by July, 1871, Hall had the Polaris commissioned and ready to sail north -- this time to seek the "farthest north."

Tookoolito, Ebierbing and Puney joined with the Hendrik family and experienced the 1871-73 expedition which was described in Chapter 8. Map 31 illustrates the tracks of the expedition.

Ebierbing had signed up with the Pandora under the command of Allen William Young from June 25 to October 16, 1875.

Nourse reported that on one occasion at the grave of Tookoolito, Ebierbing said, "Hannah gone! Punna gone. Me go now again to King William's Island; if have to fight, me no care."[84] Ebierbing did go with Frederick Schwatka in 1878 and returned after faithful service in 1880. Ebierbing returned to the Frobisher Bay region after 1880. According to Nourse, he became very 'capitalistic' as legend had it, very quickly earned the envy and hatred of his fellows and was murdered. Another interpretation might be that Ebierbing was murdered for his association with the Europeans. Like Blind George, this displays the effect of European involvement on an individual's place in Inuit society

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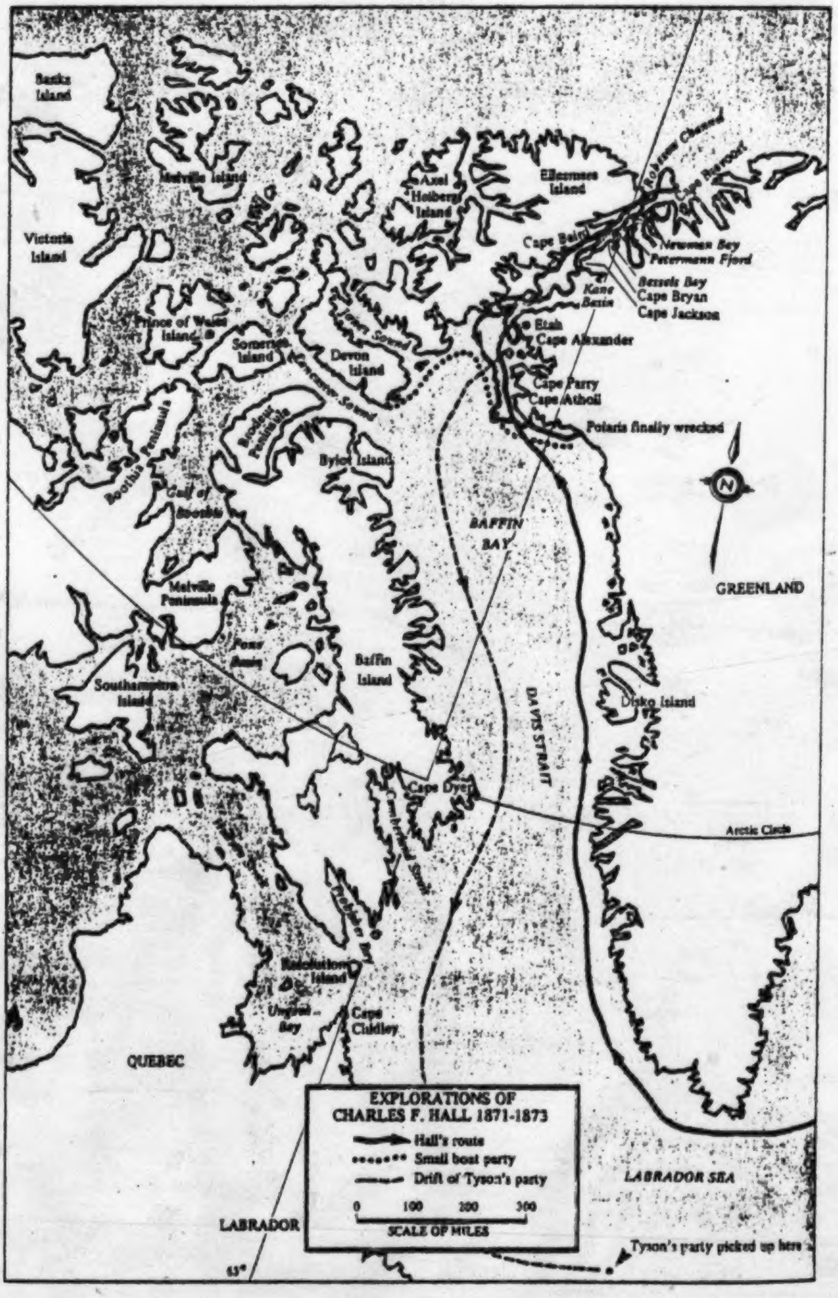
[84] Ibid., p. 448.


Banks Island
Melville Island
Victoria Island
Prince of Wales Island
Somerset Island
Devon Island
Jones Sound
Lancaster Sound
Axel Heiberg Island
Ellesmere Island
Robeson Channel
Cape Bryant
Cape Baird
Newman Bay
Petermann Fjord
Bessels Bay
Cape Bryan
Cape Jackson
Kane Basin
Etah
Cape Alexander
Cape Parry
Cape Atholl
Polaris finally wrecked
Boothia Peninsula
Brodeur Peninsula
Bylot Island
Gulf of Boothia
BAFFIN BAY
Melville Peninsula
Foxe Basin
Baffin Island
Southampton Island
DAVIS STRAIT
GREENLAND
Disko Island
Cape Dyer
Cumberland Sound
Arctic Circle
Frobisher Bay
Resolution Island
Ungava Bay
Cape Chidley
QUEBEC
LABRADOR
LABRADOR SEA
EXPLORATIONS OF CHARLES F. HALL 1871-1873
Hall's route
Small boat party
Drift of Tyson's party
0
100
200
300
SCALE OF MILES
Tyson's party picked up here
63°

Map 31. The Travels of Ebierbing and Tookoolito With C. F. Hall

From: Farley Mowat, The Polar Passion (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), p. 116.

(72) Ebierbing: Key to the Secrets of King William Island: United States Franklin Search: Frederick Schwatka, 1878-80

Ebierbing and Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka left New York on June 19, 1878, aboard the *Eothen*. Ebierbing had remarried and his new wife, "Neepshank" or Hamal, accompanied him.

Again, a tale told by the Inuit motivated the search. Some Europeans had by now accepted the validity of oral tradition. Now they were inclined to investigate all tales. Captain Barry had brought this story back to the United States, after being told it by the Inuit of Repulse Bay. The Inuit spoke of a uniformed stranger who had visited them some years ago accompanied by other white men. This stranger had survived his companions, and had a great collection of papers and these papers had been placed in a cairn. The story had been retold in 1876 so Schwatka was determined to track down the lead. Schwatka's orders informed him that he was to start for King William Land from Repulse Bay, find the papers and, if found, either he or Joe [Ebierbing] were to retain the papers. So into Hudson Strait the *Eothen* plunged. True to form, the inhabitants of the north shore hailed the ship and came on board to trade. The whaler sailors took advantage of the barter just as they had for the last three hundred years but this time Ebierbing was aboard ship and:

> Joe, who had been long enough in civilized lands to know what values are, came to me and said he thought it wrong to rob these people. They were his own people, and from the same tribe, in fact, so that his interest was naturally with them. His own uncle [Ugarng] was one of the chief men of this tribe.[85]

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[85] William Henry Gilder, *Schwatka's Search: Sledging in the*

Gilder lets slip the attitude of Europeans towards the Inuit. The Europeans [includes Americans] considered that the Inuit had no values and that Ebierbing picked up his values because of his experience in the United States. Values were something that only 'civilized' people possessed and the idea that Inuit could possess values quite different did not exist for these writers.

The quotation shows Ebierbing as very sensitive to his own peoples' interests and runs contrary to Nourse's reported statement that later in life and in Frobisher Bay Ebierbing "seemed capitalistically inclined." Gilder was also led to remark that, "The natives are better whalemen than any of the seamen who come to this country, and they should certainly receive more than a handful of powder and a few bullets for hundreds of pounds of [Whale] bone worth about $2.50 a pound."[86] Just as the existence of the oral tradition had become accepted by some, so also had some authors begun to see the injustices that were being perpetrated on the Inuit. But the overall attitude of the Europeans was to get Inuit services at the least price.

Schwatka landed at Camp Daly at the entrance of Roes Welcome Sound. It took until winter set in to discover that there was no substance to the story.[87] To do the disproving of the story, however, Schwatka had to visit people south along the coast to Marble Island.

There, he met Ikinnelikpatolok, who had met the ten man Back

Arctic in Quest of the Franklin Records (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington: New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1881), p. 11.

[86] Ibid., p. 12.

[87] Ibid., p. 38.

expedition. Ikinnelikpatolok, who was a boy at the time of the Back meeting, explained how the white men had greeted them by shaking hands. Back was called by the Inuit, "Tos-ard-e-roak." But Ikinnelikpatolok had been aboard a deserted ship near an island about five miles due west of Grant Point, on Adelaide Peninsula. He had seen a dead man aboard the ship, at one time four sets of whitemen's tracks in the snow on the mainland and then only three. He told how the Inuit cut a hole in the ship at ice level and how they had removed certain items.

A new guide, Marleyow, and his wife Innokpizookzook and child, was recruited as hunter for the trip back to the Back River.[88] Equeesik instructed Narleyow in the handling of a gun so this was a historic arming of the first Netsilik. After two months of travel, they reached the Back River mouth. On first contact, the Inuit, fully armed, lined up in a row and sent an old ambassadress to meet the intruders. Equeesik suggested firing a gun. The people appeared friendly. An old man named Seeuteetuar had seen a number of skeletons a few miles distant from this spot on Montreal Island. He offered to show the spot and proferred that he had seen knives, spoons, books, watches, silver and gold.

Toolooah, a forty-five year old male Inuit, had been at the boat place but after nearly all transportable relics had been removed. He had seen tracks on the west side of Adelaide Peninsula. He indicated on a map eight miles west of Grant Point as the place where the ship went down. Toolooah had talked to Ooping, who was the last Inuit to visit the west coast of King William Land, two years before, and he had seen traces of white men near Cape Jane Franklin and along the coast of Cape Felix. Schwatka now had enough information so as to line up the geographic points he wanted to investigate on King William Island.

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[88] Ibid., p. 80.

An elderly woman, Ahlangyah, reported that she and her husband plus two others had met a party of ten whitemen on the eastern coast of Washington Bay.[89] The men had obvious signs of scurvy and were suffering from starvation. The Inuit had given the party some seal meat but had left them after five days. She remembered that three of them had been variously called "Doktook," "Agloocar" and "Toolooah." The following spring, Ahlangyah had seen a tent at the head of Terror Bay with many parts of bodies lying about.[90] Schwatka surmised that after the Inuit had left them, the party had to resort to the boat which was buffeted by ice. They were in all probability driven by the waves into Terror Bay. Said Schwatka:

> Every word she uttered seemed fraught with the dread tragedy, and she appeared to share our interest, for her face was full of expression. At time it was saddened with the recital of the piteous condition of the white men, and tears filled her eyes as she recalled the sad scene at the tent place where so many had perished, and their bodies became food for wild beasts.[91]

Schwatka and his party now moved over to King William Island (Map 32). They decided to investigate a new cairn erected by whitemen and reported by Adlekok. It turned out to be the cairn created by Hall over the two bodies of Franklin men.

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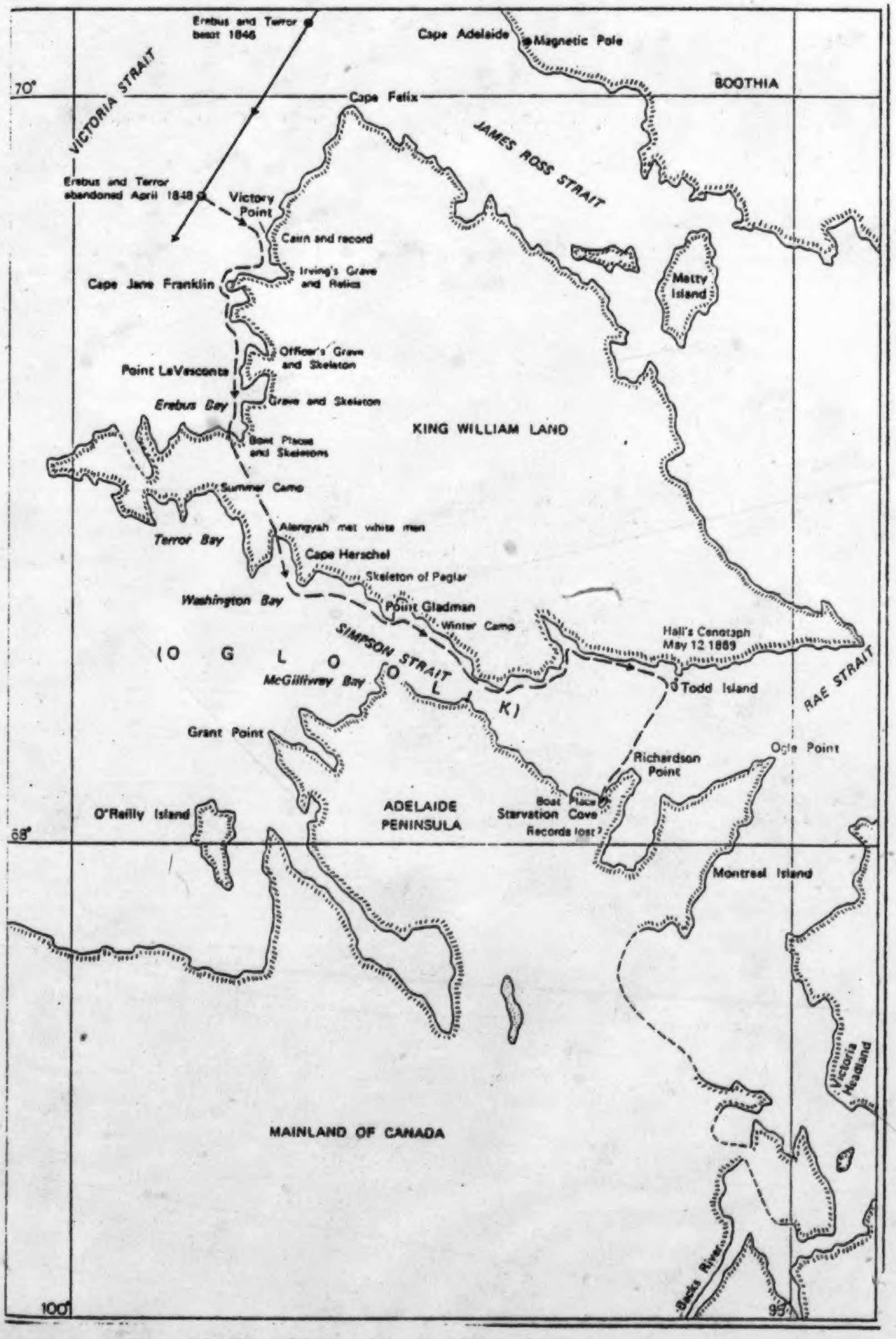
[89] Ibid., p. 90.

[90] Ibid., pp. 90-92.

[91] Ibid., p. 93.


Erebus and Terror beset 1846
Cape Adelaide
Magnetic Pole
VICTORIA STRAIT
70°
Cape Felix
BOOTHIA
JAMES ROSS STRAIT
Erebus and Terror abandoned April 1848
Victory Point
Cairn and record
Irving's Grave and Relics
Cape Jane Franklin
Matty Island
Officer's Grave and Skeleton
Point LeVesconte
Erebus Bay
Grave and Skeleton
Boat Places and Skeletons
KING WILLIAM LAND
Summer Camp
Alangyah met white men
Terror Bay
Cape Herschel
Skeleton of Peglar
Washington Bay
Point Gladman
Winter Camp
Hall's Cenotaph May 12 1869
SIMPSON STRAIT
(O G L O O L I K)
McGillivray Bay
Todd Island
RAE STRAIT
Grant Point
Richardson Point
Ogle Point
Boat Place
Starvation Cove
Records lost?
ADELAIDE PENINSULA
O'Reilly Island
68°
Montreal Island
Victoria Headland
MAINLAND OF CANADA
Backs River
100°
95°

Map 32. King William Island

From: William Henry Gilder, Schwatka's Search, Sledging in the Arctic in quest of the Franklin Records (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1881).

Tooktoocheer and Ogzeuckjeuwock were interviewed. Tooktoocheer was the widow of Pooyetah and Ogzeuckjeuwock was the son. Ogzeuckjeuwock had a memorable incident to report because he and another lad were playing with a tin of powder when it exploded. The father, Pooyetah, is mentioned by Sir John Ross and Hall. Ogzeuckjeuwock reported he had seen books -- both printed and written -- in a metal box in the boat at Erebus Bay. These were in all probability the official records of the Franklin expedition.

Toolooah led the march up the west coast of King William Island to Cape Felix. Of him, Gilder said:

> Such as he [Toolooah] are rare anywhere, and especially so among the Esquimaux. He is not only the best hunter in his tribe, but the best dog driver, and the most energetic man I have seen among all the tribes with whom I have come in contact. He is more like a capable white man, in that respect, than an Esquimaux, and there is a legend in his tribe that he was never known to be tired. It is certain that to him, more than to all other natives with us, combined, is due the success of our enterprise.[92]

Gilder's comments suggest that the Americans regard the interpreters as a different group of individuals than are the average Inuit.

Gilder mentions, too, the persistence and perseverance of Toolooah and says in a somewhat unflattering contrast to other Inuit: "I merely mention this incident to show the kind of metal our Toolooah is made of; not as a sample of Inuit character, but as a remarkable contrast to it."[93] The good qualities of Toolooah are seen as an individual's characteristics not as a racial character. This raises the question of how many individuals with similar characteristics must be observed before it can be described as a racial characteristic.

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[92] Ibid., p. 116.

[93] Ibid., p. 119.

Cape Felix was reached and the return journey along the western coast of King William Island brought to light many relics of the Franklin expedition, including a copy of Crozier's record of the 28th of May, 1847, and written in the handwriting of McClintock, May 7, 1859. Schwatka visited the two reported small boat placements on Erebus Bay, buried or took along with him the bones of the deceased. Then the party made the long journey back to Camp Dahly.

In commenting on the Inuit, Gilder quotes Schwatka as saying: "The Esquimaux are not a people given to exploration. They are not curious concerning unknown territory. What they are chiefly interested in 'what they shall eat and drink, and wherewithall they shall be clothed.'"[94] Gilder was critical of the Inuit as to their non-interest in exploration. How different was Rasmussen's view, who said:

> The Eskimos are a roaming people, always longing for a change and a surprise . . . A people who like moving about in search of fresh hunting grounds, fresh possibilities and 'hidden things.' They are born with the explorer's inclination and thirst for knowledge; and they possess all those qualities which to to make an explorer in these latitudes.[95]

Of Toolooah, Schwatka said:

> That he [Toolooah] supported an average of nine souls (not counting double that number of dogs dependent upon him for about ten months), coupled with a score of 232 reindeer during that period, besides a number of seal, musk ox and polar bear, demonstrates his great ability as a hunter in these inhospitable climes.[96]

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[94] Ibid., p. 232.

[95] Rasky, Vol II, p. 369.

[96] Edouard A. Stackpole, ed., The Long Arctic Search; the Narrative of Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka, USA, 1878-1880, Seeking the Records of the Lost Franklin Expedition (Mystic: Marine Historical Association, Inc., 1965), p. 94.

The expedition had traversed 2,819 geographical or 3,251 statute miles over what Gilder called "unexplored" territory. Gilder claimed that it was the "longest sledge journey ever made, both as to time and distance."[97] The winter was one of the coldest on record with temperatures dropping as low as seventy-one below zero, Fahrenheit.[98] The expedition relied on the resources of the country and therefore on the native hunters. Gilder considered the greatest contribution of the expedition to be the establishment of the fact that the Franklin records were lost in Starvation Cove on King William Island. Of the native contribution, Gilder's comment was perfunctory. He granted that the Inuit provided the food, the direction and the transport but to Schwatka went the laurels.

Gilder quoted Schwatka as they were about to board their rescue ship thus:

> I was not prepared to feel the pain of parting from these people and this country as I feel it now. Even the near prospect of getting back to civilization, and of meeting friends and hearing news scarcely ameliorates the pang at this moment.[99]

Toolooah, his wife and two children had been promised by Schwatka that they could return with him to the United States but some of the old men came to beg of Schwatka to leave Toolooah as they considered it too great a risk for Toolooah to go to the United States. So Toolooah remained at Camp Dahly.

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[97] Gilder, op. cit., p. 238.

[98] Ibid., p. 239.

[99] Ibid., p. 264.

No known human, however, to this point in time (1880) had traversed so much of what is now Arctic Canada as Joe or Ebierbing. From the northermost tip of Ellesmere, to Peel Sound to King William Island to Igloolik and throughout Baffin Island, and for twenty years and with such sterling service had Ebierbing travelled. Tookoolito was a close second.

Images of the Inuit as Portrayed by the Journals

The remarkable transformation of the images given by Kane of the Inuit bore out the adage that to truly know them is to respect them. From a concept of the white man as a "dominant tribe" to "we had found brothers in a strange land" described the transformation. Kane earlier had characterized the Inuit as irresponsible, thieving, mischievous, uncivilized and faithless. By the end of his journey the descriptive adjectives had become skilled, humane, generous, hospitable, cooperative and forgiving.

Hayes labelled the Inuit as irresponsible, improvident and unorganized yet his own expedition was marked by irresponsibility in that he took men into an area for which they were totally unfitted. He put men in terrible situations from which he expected the Inuit to rescue them which is a mark of improvidence. His expedition demonstrated how unorganized the Americans were. Thus Hayes was what he charged the Inuit with.

Hans Hendrik, Ebierbing and Tookoolito and families assumed almost heroic proportions when they kept a party of seventeen alive on the Polaris expedition. Budington reported the activities of that six and one half month, eighteen hundred mile float from Smith Sound to the tip of Newfoundland in the Atlantic.

Hendrik served three major expeditions whereas Ebierbing worked for five and Tookoolito for three. This was the era of the great interpreters.

Hall gave evidence of the existence of the oral tradition among the Inuit. From Ookijoxy Ninoo and family, he reported on the three hundred year existence of the tale of Frobisher's lost men. Convinced by the existence of such oral tradition, Hall applied his learning to the fate of Franklin's crew and finally was able to ferret out much of what the Inuit knew of the end of the crews and ships of Franklin. Hall employed an Emic Approach -- learning of events from Inuit sources and attempting to see events through their world view.

Though he could not sustain his belief in the Inuit as a rational people, Hall made magnificent attempts. He found the Inuit too independent and superstitious but Hall recognized the Inuit travel genius and the value of their geographic knowledge.

Gilder praised Toolooah who led Schwatka about King William Island. If an individual such as Toolooah had desirable qualities in the eyes of the white men, then these qualities were attributed to the individual not to the common people. Schwatka believed that the Inuit were not an exploring people. On the whole Schwatka did feel pain in parting with a people who had served and treated him so well.

Frame of Reference of the Authors of the Journals

Kane considered the white tribe to be everywhere dominant when he came to the Polar Inuit area. By the time he took his departure he was an "almost Inuit" in spirit.

Hayes had absolutely no respect for the Inuit. His attempt to rob Kalatunah of his dogs on the Kane expedition, his robbery of Inuit graves and collection of Inuit skulls brought shrill opposition from Mersek. Hayes suspected Hans of self-interest, irresponsibility, treachery and even murder.

Captain Budington, a whaler of long experience, recognized the value of the Inuit in the matter of diet and being able to cure the men of scurvy. If the men became sick, Budington sent them immediately to live with the Inuit.

Hendrik, in the Nares expedition, felt discriminated against by the crew. He despaired and felt unworthy but as Captain Stephenson relied on him and as he was able to render service to the expedition, Hans regained his composure. The leaders accepted Hendrik and recognized his good qualities but the Inuit were subject to ridicule and scorn by the crew.

Hall came to the Arctic with three accepted tenets in his mind. Whitemen could live where the Inuit did; whitemen, in the Arctic, should live and travel as the Inuit did; and that some of the crew of the Franklin ships actually were living among the Inuit. Hall spent his three expeditions attempting to test these hypotheses. By the time of his death he had proven the first two tenets, and found some proof in the third. Hall was the first of the visitors to come with positive images as the outset of his travels. Hall had difficulty in maintaining that positive image -- he was severely tested by his doubts. Hall was very much the Victorian gentleman with all the qualities that characterized that age -- an emphasis on orderliness, cleanliness and decorum.

Gilder, the editor of Schwatka's diary, indicated that the Inuit had no values and if an Inuit showed evidence of such values, he contended that the Inuit gained these values from their experience with 'civilized' people.

Relationships: Who Influenced Whom?

The Americans under Kane were out of their element. They were ill-supplied and ill-prepared to live in a country that to them seemed so inhospitable. At every turn, they had to call on the Inuit who in the persons of Metek, Kalatunah, Mrs. Eider Duck and others rendered service in the form of food provision, transportation, medical aid, direction and clothing. Kane learned the art of dog driving and the science of hunting in those areas. Both Kane and Hayes were totally dependent on Inuit aid. But the contact had its effect on the Polar Inuit. Between 1853 and 1860, epidemics, brought on by contact with the white man, had lessened the Inuit inhabitants to seventy-three individuals along the six hundred mile of Greenland coast. While the indigenous people succoured the Americans, Hans Hendrik gave both parties his continuous support and guidance.

Hans Hendrik and Ebierbing discussed the matter of flogging. Both remained quiet about such matters because they felt they had to in order to keep their position. Both despaired at Hall's death and both agreed that while they were with the Americans, their positions were tenuous. They knew their lesser position and they resented it. Hans and Ebierbing and their families maintained, sheltered and fed the other members of the crew who were on the ice floe. Ebierbing and Tookoolito had squired Hall through southern Baffin. They had helped to raise money for two more of Hall's expeditions. They had maintained Hall in the Keewatin and made it possible for him to get to King William Island and back. Hall was totally dependent on these people for six years at least.

The visitors, without realizing what happened, caused certain people to be elevated among their Inuit peers. Paulooyer and Ebierbing are typical cases.

It was fitting that Ebierbing be with Schwatka in the expedition that closed out the 1870's. On that occasion, Ebierbing brought Schwatka back to trace the tragic scenes of the last days of the Franklin expedition. Schwatka knew exactly where to travel because he had the narrative as told by the Inuit of all that happened. It was dramatic justice that Ebierbing played out this last scene.

CHAPTER 11

MY FATHER . . . YOU HAVE TOLD ME THAT HEAVEN IS VERY BEAUTIFUL; TELL ME NOW . . . IS IT MORE BEAUTIFUL THAN THE COUNTRY OF THE MUSK-OX IN THE SUMMER . . ." ENTER THE MISSIONARY, 1857-1880 (SALTATHA TO WARBURTON PIKE)

All the known early visitors to northern North America called themselves Christian except for Eric the Red. Karlsefni captured two Skraeling boys who said the Skraeling had visited lands across the waters [in Greenland] where the Skraeling had observed white clad people marching with singing and banners. This appeared to be a religious procession. If there were contacts between Skraeling and Christian in the next five hundred years, it is not recorded.

Frobisher in his first two visits in 1576 and 1577 had observed these "uncivil and brutish" people. An old woman accompanied Ignorth and Natioc when all three were captured by Frobisher's men in 1577. The captors had removed the old woman's foot wear to make sure that she was not a witch. The old woman's ugliness had provided the clue for the deduction made by Frobisher's men. The sure sign of 'witchery' was a cloven foot. Since the men discovered that the old woman did not possess the aforementioned characteristic, she was freed. But witchcraft and heresy weighed heavily on the English mind. These agents of Elizabeth I searched carefully for 'religious untruths' and these, according to them, could be easily detected in Meta Incognita.

On his third voyage, Frobisher brought a minister, Wolfall

[Woolfall] with him. Wolfall celebrated the first Anglican communion in America but no natives graced that table. The English had observed the strange implements of the inhabitants and found these implements so different that they left a limestone building with baked bread, whistles, pipes, Elizabethean clothes and lead soldiers on horseback. The local people, it was thought, would view these samples of 'civilization' and then leap to become a Christian. The English culture, according to these Englishmen, represented the highest pinnacle which man had so far reached. All people in their development would follow the same pattern. Conversion to Christ would occur when the people concerned saw the evidences of 'civilization.' The items in the limestone house would start the process.

An incident occurred in 1586 when John Davis had the Inuit of Baffin Island show him how they made fire. As the Inuit made the fire with a drill, they talked among themselves in their own language. Davis interpreted the Inuit conversations as incantations and his witch ridden mind immediately projected the idea that these people were idolators or creatures influenced by Satan.

Again, Baffin in 1615 found "little stone images" or stone carvings and Baffin's frame of reference immediately labelled the Inuit as "idolators."

The earliest images of the religious practices of the Inuit by the Englishmen added witchcraft and all the elements of being possessed to the other descriptions.

Almost 270 years elapsed before the next Christian minister visited northern North America. Miertsching came because he was required as interpreter. The Moravians or Danish Lutheran missionaries in

Greenland and Labrador had made careful study of Inuktitut and McClure and Collinson had chosen Miertsching aboard the Investigator in the expedition from Alaska eastward in 1850-54. The Moravian had only fleeting contact with the people of this area but the encounters were friendly and Miertsching was optimistic that these people 'were ready' for the missionary.

Miertsching, with sadness, told of the misfortunes and ills of the Inuit. Miertsching equated these ills with what was for him a fact that these people did not know Christ. Once Christ was accepted then man would progress as had European man. The Europeans had blindly accepted that their own culture was the epitome of man's progress toward the "divine state." In Miertsching's eyes, while he accepted the Inuit as children of God and longed to rescue them from their present state of sinful living, he could not believe that these people had any morality, religion, or philosophy of their own. They showed but the potential to become closer to Miertsching's elevated position.

Mathew Warmow's stay during 1857-58, at the suggestion and facilitation of Penny, constituted the first wintering of a missionary with the indigenous people. Warmow, like Miertsching a Moravian, knew the language. The Moravians had established the fact that only if the missionaries were proficient in the language of the people whom they wished to convert, could they be successful in conversion to Christianity of those people. Both Warmow and Miertsching, as were the missionaries of whom Berkhofer wrote, believed that conversion to Christ was an instructional problem. One had only to instruct and the native intelligence would direct them to conversion. In order to instruct, however, one had to know the language.

Several other developments had occurred in the outside world that would make possible the successful efforts of the missionaries in their own terms.

James Evans, at Rossville or Norway House in what is now northern Manitoba, had used Pitman shorthand symbols to represent sounds in Cree. These symbols or syllabics could be utilized to write any language. Further, this system of syllabics could be taught to an adult in three days. One of the interesting outcomes of the use of this system was the phenomena of Inuit teaching syllabics to Inuit in the eastern Arctic in the 1900's. Diamond Jenness claimed a flood of literacy washed this area in the 1900's.

The Anglicans had early organized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Later, the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) was specifically organized to send missionaries to the Arctic and other mission fields around the world. C.M.S. had the organization, the relations with important people who made policy for North America to send out and provide for missionaries. The Anglicans had established schools at Red River in the 1840's with the hope of training 'indigenous clergy.' By 1858, they were ready to launch veteran Archdeacon James Hunter on a fact finding and mission establishing expedition in the Mackenzie area.

The Roman Catholic Church had three experienced organizations in the Grey Nuns, the brothers of the Church and the Order of Mary Immaculate. These potent weapons of conversion, by the latter part of the 1850's, were ready and eager to be thrown into the battle for nominal souls in the Mackenzie area. Two bastions of influence had been established at Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan, and Fort Chipewyan, Alberta.

The routes of entry had been established. A system of transport now existed because of the traders and map makers. Previous visitors had often talked to Dene and Inuit about the missionaries and an era of expectancy had been created. Both Roman Catholics and Anglicans made a point of claiming that their missionaries were invited to establish missions. Inuit and Dene had seen much to admire in European technology. If the Europeans showed much competence in the material, could they not be competent in things of the spirit?

Inuit and Dene had been told by the fur traders or other visitors to listen to the missionaries who would come later. The missionaries had been foreshadowed by the previous visitors. So the Inuit and Dene invited the missionaries. The missionaries interpreted the invitations as 'desire' by the invitors. The missionaries conceived the invitations as statements by the indigenous people that they were ready to hear the Gospel. It was a sign to the missionaries that the indigenous people were tired of their 'have-not Christ state,' of the deficiencies that this state entailed and wanted instruction in how to live fuller, richer lives. The missionaries saw the lives of the Dene and Inuit as hum-drum. They could not conceive of an indigenous philosophy or religion.

Berkhofer makes the point that the missionaries thought that in order to be "saved," one must first have "sin." In the north, the Inuit and Dene had to be taught to recognize sin in themselves and in others. They had to be taught that it was a sin to lie, steal, be lazy, be adulterous, murder, curse and have more than one wife. Once the native recognized sin then he would renounce his old ways and take up the new. The problem is and was that in the process the Dene and Inuit would shed some of his traditional culture. This was the type of approach, the mind set and the objective of each of the major missionary expeditions described in this chapter.

(58) With the Help of the Beaulieu Dynasty: Roman Catholic Missionary Journey to the Mackenzie River: Henry Grollier, O.M.I., 1858-63

Henry Grollier, ordained priest by Mgr. de Mazenod in 1851, had come to the Northwest in 1852 to Fort Chipewyan. He had gone to Fond du Lac in 1853 and by 1857 he was ready to make entry into the Mackenzie. Grollier was noted for his ardent zeal and restless energy. Grollier had sufficient grasp of the Athapaskan language so that he could soon make himself understood among Chipewyan, Slave and Dogrib. Grollier knew whom to contact for instruction and guidance.

The anecdote of how Grollier once froze his feet and infection set in is instructive. Grollier, at Fort Rae, realized that the toe nails of his frozen feet would have to be extracted. He told his Metis guide, Pierre Beaulieu, son of Old Man Beaulieu or Francois II, that Pierre would have to extract the toe nails with a pair of pincers. This Beaulieu did and all the anaesthetic that Grollier had between extractions was a cold drink of water.[1] The anecdote demonstrates not only Grollier's determination but also his connection with the powerful Beaulieu clan.

Duchaussois tells the following tale about the famous father, Old Man Beaulieu:

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[1] P. E. Breton, Irish Hermit of the Arctic, the Life of Brother J. Patric Kearney, OMI, translated by J. S. Mullaney (Edmonton: Editions de l'Hermitage, 1963).

> Francois Beaulieu, a big and powerful and fearless man, was the chief bully or bruiser of the North West Company at Great Slave Lake, and as such he had killed his man - the trader of the Hudson's Bay Company who was suspected of responsibility for the drowning of the rival company. Beaulieu was seized and bound before he could reload his guns. His captors advised him to change his defiant attitude to let the past be past, and take service under the H.B.C. as their bully and name his own price. He agreed to serve the Company. According to local custom, he had several wives, sometimes seven, never less than three. In the spring of 1848 there came to Fort Resolution a young Canadian named Dubreuil to be a subordinate of Beaulieu. He was a quiet, charitable, obliging young man. Beaulieu took great notice of his kneeling down every morning and night, and making a great sign of the cross at the beginning and end of his devotions. Beaulieu inquired what it all meant and then asked if he might learn something about God. Dubreuil said to Beaulieu: "You ought to go to the priest at Portage La Loche. He will teach you what you have to do in order to serve God." Thereupon, Beaulieu took his children and his wives in his longest and largest canoe and went his way southward to Portage La Loche with many Indian followers. After his baptism Beaulieu settled down at Salt River.[2]

The following family geneology gives five generations of Beaulieus in which there are 164 people listed and the more detailed copy indicates at least forty-one family names. To ally yourself with such an influential group or to have them support your endeavour is a powerful agency. It is also noteworthy that the Beaulieu's wanted to seek the missionary before the missionary came to the present area of the Northwest Territories.

Bishop Grandin tells how Father Faraud visited Fort Resolution in 1852 and on the journey the dogs ate all the supplies. The party had some distance to go to reach their destination. Many would have given up. But Old Man Beaulieu urged the hungry young men on with the dictum, "Paddle harder and harder, my friends, the only means to fight hunger is to arrive

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[2] Pierre Duchaussois, Mid Snow and Ice: The Apostles of the Northwest (Buffalo: Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 1937).

Chart 3

The Beaulieu Genealogy

(Adapted from Fr. Louis Menez, O.M.I.)

Francois Beaulieu married Chipewyan woman

Francois-Cathrine St. Germain
(Old Man Beaulieu)

- A Francis & Catherine Janvier
  - Marie - William Houle - 1 child
  - Francoise - Thomas - 3 children
- B Catherine & Joseph Bouvier
  - Sophie - Baptiste Boucher - 1 child
- C Pierre & Delphine Cayen
  - Rose Anna - Alfred McKay
  - Marguerite - Isadore Sayine
  - Michel
- D Joseph King & Marie Flammond
  - Rose Mandeville - Alex Mercredi
  - Louise-Michel Emerence - 1 child
  - Elise-Jean Cardinal
  - Francois
  - Joseph-Flora Hope - 6 children
  - Sophie-Modeste Lafferty
  - Madeleine-Moise Mandeville - 2 children
    - Noemie Desported - 2 children
    - Elizabeth Tatadidze - 5 children
    - Sohie Jolibois - 3 children
  - Paul
- E Alexis & Marie Lafferty
  - Marguerite
  - Pierre
  - Catherine
  - Madeline - Antoine Lafferty - 2 children
  - Marie - Pierre Mercredi - 7 children

as soon as possible."[3]

Beaulieu, having adopted Roman Catholicism, became a loyal and active supporter. Grandin said at one point on a trip between Fort Chipewyan and Fort Smith, Beaulieu pointed to an island and said:

> We have islands, rivers and lakes, and they all bear the names of foreign people who just went through this country. This island, the biggest and most beautiful has not yet been named. Let us call it "Priest Island." To give more solemnity to the circumstance we sung (sic) a Chipewyan hymn.[4]

When the party arrived in Fort Resolution, the first child baptized in Fort Resolution had for its God-parents none other than Old Man Beaulieu and his wife Catherine.[5]

Beaulieu was one of the first Catholic conversions in the area and it was natural that the authors who describe Beaulieu dwell lovingly on his conversion. Duchaussois included the Beaulieu story to enlarge the feats of Grollier; the involvement of the native people all seem to magnify the efforts of the missionaries.

In the winter of 1856-57, Father Grandin went to Salt River to learn Chipewyan. He was welcomed by Old Man Beaulieu. In fact, Beaulieu gave Grandin his own house and moved the Beaulieu household elsewhere into a "poorer and much colder" abode said Grandin.

By 1861, Grandin had become bishop. Grandin returned to Salt River and again Beaulieu welcomed him. The old house that Grandin had stayed in six years earlier had been reserved for a church. Grandin reported that Beaulieu had gathered the people together in this building and had "prayed, preached and sung."

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[3] Fr. Louis Menez, O.M.I., "The Beaulieu Genealogy," Fort Resolution (mimeographed).

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 6.

[6] Ibid., p. 6

A grandaughter of Old Man Beaulieu, Marie Hoole [Houle] acted as a 'bully' or boat foreman on the river boats. This required leadership and ability to get people to do the will of the Company. Force had sometimes to be used. Mme. Houle kept a whip at her belt which she could use if necessary. Duchaussois says she was tart of tongue with a good vocabulary of curses. But she, too, became converted and began to be a fighter for the Catholic Church. She roundly berated William Kirkby, the Anglican minister, for "preying on the praying." Duchaussois said of her:

> The baptized half-breed woman, who returned to the north, was no longer a bully by name or nature. She continued, indeed, to carry her serviceable weapon at her belt, but she became a model wife and mother, and as bold for religion as ever she had been for the fur trade or paganism . . . The valiant woman, with good Indian and good French qualifications became more and more serviceable to the church as she advanced in age. She was interpreter and sacristan for Gascon in 1860, when he made his stay at Liard. In 1863 she taught young Father Grouard the Slave dialect, and took care that his wishes were carried out by the faithful. She also explained to him the manners and customs of the tribe.[7]

Duchaussois claimed Mme. Hoole to be a Saul on the road to Damascus -- a completely changed person after her conversion. The priests detailed Mme. Hoole's good works after because the priests knew her but how did they know what she was like before conversion? Mme. Hoole had risen in the ranks of the fur trade companies because of her service to them.

With such stalwart supporters as these, Henry Grollier could hardly fail. Grollier pressed on to Fort Resolution, Fort Simpson and Big Island Mission, which was moved to its present site of Fort

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[7] Duchaussois, op. cit., p. 280.

Providence. By 1859, Grollier had visited Fort Rae, Fort Norman and, lastly, Fort Good Hope where he wintered. Generally, Grollier worked the area from Fort Norman in the south to the Kutchin and Inuit in the north -- a distance of some five hundred miles. Grollier wrote to his bishop thus:

> Monsignor, if you do not want me to die of chagrin, as I am a man of deep feeling, give me all the help possible . . . I must have at least one helper by the Summer of 1861 . . . [And later] Dear Monsignor, at least give me a house, so that I can leave the Company's quarters. I am thinking of an Indian helper - so that I can have time for important matters. My house will have to be built with an axe only . . . I beg of you, Monsignor, to give me as much help as you can.[8]

Grollier was consumed by his passion for conversion of the Dene. He wanted the house as an anchor and as a sign of respect -- after all, the fur traders had houses. Grollier wanted an Indian helper to do the lesser chores so Grollier could save souls. The Dene were still the lesser beings but they could become greater once converted. Duchaussois interpreted Grollier's letter to mean that house and helper would free Grollier to work with the Dene. Another interpretation might be that house and helper would gain Grollier recognition among the Dene and thus it would be easier to gain Dene conversion.

The excerpts above illustrate the zeal of Grollier. The frail asthmatic priest redoubled his efforts, visiting Fort Good Hope and even Fort McPherson where he attempted to get Kutchin and Inuit to make friends. Grollier said:

> On the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14th, 1860), having gathered the Loucheux and the Eskimos around the cross, the sign of reconciliation, I called on the two chiefs to

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[8] Breton, op. cit., p. 25.

> come forward. I made them touch the base of the cross, their hands interlocking, and then kiss the cross as a promise of peace between their people, and between their people and God. I held their hands with mine and had them promise to be friends henceforth.[9]

So great was Grollier's faith that conversion to Christ was only an instructional problem that he created, a dramatic, symbolic occasion. He forced Inuit and Dene to be actors and then hoped that the requisite thoughts had transpired in the Inuit and Dene minds.

Grollier thought the Inuit-Kutchin act to be significant. So did Duchaussois. But the priests were certain that the whitemen had profound effect with the natives every time that they did something. It is not certain that Grollier's act had the effect he thought it did. It is true, however, that no whiteman before him had ever tried to perform such a mediating role between the peoples in question.

Grollier had other difficulties which afflicted him: the Anglicans turned people against him, the Hudson's Bay Company personnel were not always friendly. At Fort McPherson he was refused food and shelter by the Company but he doggedly set up camp on the beach. Wrote Grollier:

> We will save them as we did those at Simpson, Norman and Good Hope . . . But we must carry on to the Loucheux, to McPherson, to the Yukon and to the Arctic Sea . . . It will be hard . . . Forget about not having enough money; God will provide. I am leaving here with a heavy heart, but thank God I came, for I have succeeded in reclaiming the better ones. Maybe the others will have remorse of conscience . . . All in all . . . it was a hard time for me.[10]

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[9] Ibid., p. 26.

[10] Ibid., p. 27.

Grollier does not succeed in "saving them" at Fort McPherson but the Anglicans were claiming that they had "saved" the Fort McPherson people and lost those at Simpson, Norman and Hope. The "saving" was to make them Anglicans or Roman Catholics. The "better ones," as Grollier terms them, were the ones that return to the Catholic team. Inspite of Grollier's real agony, it could be detected that Slave, Hare and Kutchin were choosing the missionary who had the strongest position in the forts but were not above switching allegiance if the tide turned.

By August 26, 1861, help reached the physically failing Grollier in the form of Fr. Seguin and Brother Kearney. Brother Kearney was to become known as "Déné Ondié or 'Little Brother of the Hareskins'" and was to serve the church for fifty-seven years.[11] Father Seguin served as priest at Fort Good Hope for forty years. That asthmatic condition caused Grollier's death at thirty-eight years of age in 1864.

Duchaussois claimed that Seguin, Kearney and Grollier were devoted servants of Christ and the Dene. He argued that because of the devotion of such men, the Dene responded and lived better lives because of it. At very least, the long years of living in the country and with the people demonstrated the strength of the belief of such men as Seguin, Grollier and Kearney and the response from the people was convincing even if it were to the man not the message he preached.

Grollier showed the Roman Catholic banner throughout the Mackenzie district. His zeal and charisma won him the admiration of the Dene. He had but to appear in some cases and he drew the recalcitrants back from the Anglicans. Grollier's successors then carefully consolidated his early gains.

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[11] Oeuvres de Mgr Grandin, Vol B, or Gaston Carriere, "The Oblates and the North-west," Study Sessions, 1970 (The Canadian Catholic Historical Association), p. 50.

Thus, a bitter struggle developed between the Anglican and Catholic followers. Bishop Grandin wrote to Bishop de Mazenod, founder of the Oblates: "The protestant ministers pursue us everywhere and sometimes force us, if not to be more zealous at least to undertake more missions than we could otherwise do." Bishop Tache wrote of Grollier to Bishop Lafleche on March 28, 1859: "Archdeacon Hunter passed through all our missions. Fortunately Father Grollier was in the field to turn his boldness into confusion."[12]

The above is an example of that struggle and it was as bitter and strong on the Anglican side as the Catholic. The individual Dene or Inuit in reality was not the concern of priest or minister -- winning was, and the winner's trophy was he could claim that Fort McPherson or Arctic Red River belonged to his persuasion.

(59) Invited Guests Need Interpreters: Anglican Missionary Journey to the Mackenzie River: James Hunter, 1858-59

James Hunter had served since 1842 in the Saskatchewan Anglican Church and had been particularly successful there. Henry Budd, James Settee and James Beardy had been recruited and trained at Red River but they served in Saskatchewan. The recruitment of native personnel allowed the experienced Hunter to make his survey of farther fields.[13] Hunter was a suitable choice to lead the Anglican advance into the Mackenzie.

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[12] Diocesen Archives of Saint Boniface and Archives of Saint Joseph Seminary, Trois Rivieres, Carrier, op. cit., p. 50.

As early as 1848, Hunter had received a message from a Tripe de Roche, a Chipewyan, in the Athabasca country that ministers would be welcomed but at the time of reception of the invitation, no effort could be made to send one.[14]

Hunter travelled with the same canoe brigade that brought Father Grollier to Fort Simpson. Hunter had the approval of the fort factor and so he had a residence for the winter of 1858-59. Later in the year he visited Forts Liard, Norman and Good Hope. This is the trip which Bishop Tache said that Grollier countered. Hunter also made contact with the Kutchin.[15]

Hunter had seen the success of recruiting native clergy in Saskatchewan. He also knew the value of translating Christian documents to the vernacular because he had participated with Henry Budd in a Cree project of translation. It was the policy of C.M.S. to train "native" clergy to make missions self-sufficient. Hunter could recommend after his year's trip that men of the calibre of Kirkby and Macdonald be dispatched to counter the efforts of the Catholics and gain converts for Anglicanism. Church histories, such as Boon and Duchaussois, commented on the native reception and response but the favourable reception was emphasized. Absent, too, was mention of those native people who opposed or ignored the Christian intrusion unless the obstruction was overcome and the missionary involved and his efforts were thus enhanced. When success of the missionaries was described, it meant success in getting converts to the denomination in question. The missionaries seemed to argue that if an individual repented and joined the denomination, then he was saved. If the convert had acceptance and a few of the words deemed proper by that denomination, this was a sign of conversion to the 'true' faith. Few would doubt the sincerity of the intentions of the missionaries but their many acts seemed to reflect rivalry which was somewhat more dramatic than their humanistic motivations. These motivations, too, were based on the image of the native as a people without a religion, morality, civilization and conscience.

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[13] W. F. Payton, An Historical Sketch of the Diocese of Saskatchewan of the Anglican Church of Canada (Prince Albert, 1973).

[14] T. C. B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 37.

[15] Ibid., pp. 54-55.

(61) The Kutchin Provide an Anglican Anchor: Anglican Missionary Journey to the Mackenzie River: William West Kirkby, 1859-68

Diminutive in stature but similar in devotion to Grollier, William West Kirkby had great endurance, zeal and organizational ability. Along with his enthusiasm, however, he earned the bitter hatred of his opponents. The Catholic clergy termed him "the little gem" or "the little minister" and other endearments which may, in a way, be a tribute to Kirkby's abilities. He, in turn, left no stone unturned to embarrass Tache, Grandin and Grollier.

By 1861, Kirkby had visited the Kutchin at Fort McPherson, crossed over the Rocky Mountains and travelled to Fort Yukon. Kirkby had to be transported by the Kutchin. Of them, he said:

> I imagine them to be much more intelligent than the Indians. [Kirkby did not consider the Kutchin to be Indians but more related to the Inuit.] . . . a man from each of them [several groups], who could speak a little Eskimo, volunteered to accompany me without fee or reward -- and invaluable did I find their services. Poor fellows, they will never see this; but I cannot refrain from paying them here, my gratitude and thanks.[16]

Kirkby rated the Kutchin highly because they demanded no reward or fee. Apparently other Indians to the south had become habituated to gift-giving and fee-asking. Kirkby also determined intelligence without considering the thought of the people concerned. Since language carries thought and Kirkby did not know the language, he could yet "imagine" what the "intelligence" of the people was and even compare it to others. He must have been basing his assessment on the behaviours of people and since he was hardly experienced enough to know the requisite behaviour in this "new" land, he didn't have criteria for judgment.

When it is considered that the Kutchin were volunteering to take Kirkby through country that was Inuit and thus historically hostile, the act of transport can be seen as an act of bravery and willingness to aid. Even though Fort Yukon happenings are beyond the area of study, the evidence is typical of the reception given by the Kutchin and the activities of the ministers. On the first meeting held by Kirkby, he recounts thus:

> The service ended, the principal chief, a rough, bold, energetic man, made a vigorous speech, and after him another did the same. Antoine, the Fort interpreter, informed me that they were glad I had come down, and that the chief had declared his intention of being guided by what I said, and requested all his followers to do the same. The second chief re-echoed his sentiments. Joy filled my very soul, and I sought my chamber to weep there.[17]

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[16] Ibid., p. 37.

[17] M.E.J., Day Spring in the Far West (London: Church Missionary Society,), p. 56.

After further services, a medicine man renounced his "arts" according to Kirkby. Five other men declared that they had murdered and they repented. Cenati renounced four of his wives as did other men who had more than one wife.[18] When the time arrived for Kirkby to take his leave, a fond farewell was bade by the principal chief, the medicine man and a chief from near Bering Straits.[19]

A father had given his ten year old son to Kirkby to "train and educate for further usefulness." The boy had been nicknamed "Beaver Teeth" but Kirkby hoped to give him his own name, William. The welcome and the response of the five hundred Kutchin of Fort Yukon had been warm and appreciative. Kirkby had laid a foundation for the advent of Robert Macdonald who arrived in 1862. Macdonald learned the Kutchin language and was helped to do so by his Kutchin wife. By 1864 the leading chief of the "Youcons" had become the "first fruit" of his ministry.

One further example from this area illustrates the type of schools that Kirkby attempted to organize. The missionaries argued that since the native lacked civilization, morality, conscience, law, authority, and knowledge of things spiritual, then to give the native these things was simply a matter of instruction and thus education equals training and instruction. To get religion and the other concomitants, the natives required schooling. Boon gives an account of one of the first schooling situations in the north, that of Fort Yukon in 1862:

> Mr. Kirkby's methods appear to have been quite strenuous, but school masterly. He arranged the largest room in the Fort as a

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[18] Ibid., p. 57.

[19] Ibid., p. 59.

> schoolroom, with Bible pictures hung around the walls, and divided the Indians into four groups, which he met separately except in the early morning (for the day started at 6 A.M.) and evening, the close of the day. Not very expert in the Tukudh or Loucheux language himself, he seemed to have accomplished his work with the aid of at least two interpreters. What religious ideas the Loucheux had at the time appear to have been primitive ones directed to warding off evil and so Kirkby, by his own account, tried to make them realize God as a beneficial Being desiring their welfare and centred his theme in the Ten Commandments. In one of his letters, he says, "As I had done at Lapierre's house, I endeavoured here to teach the hymn and morning and evening prayer to five or six of the young men thoroughly, so that they may teach others after my departure.[20]

Kirkby dismissed Kutchin thought as 'primitive' -- designed to ward off evil. His methods aimed to give the "word" via Commandments, hymns, and prayers and they in themselves almost served as incantations -- the very incantations which Kirkby wished to replace. Kirkby felt that the replacements would stimulate and provoke the requisite thoughts in the Kutchin mind. How Kirkby could discover the 'primitiveness' of Kutchin thought when he had so little grasp of the 'Loucheux language' is difficult to determine.

By 1866, St. David's church was opened at Fort Simpson. St. David's was the first Anglican church to be erected on the banks of the Mackenzie River. Many parts of the services could be delivered in Slave because a collection of prayers and hymns had been translated and printed in New York in 1862.[21] Without Slave help, however, with interpreters and carpenters, Kirkby could never have built the house or had so many people receptive to the Anglican message.

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[20] Boon, op. cit., p.

[21] Thomas C. B. Boon, "William West Kirkby: First Anglican Missionary to the Loucheux, Beaver, Outfit 295 (Spring, 1965, pp. 36-43), p. 38.

Mrs. Andrew Flett, a Kutchin, gave great aid to the Anglicans. She told the Indians to have nothing to do with Grollier and to "wait for one who would tell them of the true religion."[22]

In Kutchin culture, a hereditary chieftanship existed. If a chief had no sons, then a daughter who had seven sons might become Chieftaness. Mrs. Flett met all these qualifications and her husband, Andrew, held the position of clerk at Peel's River Post and La Pierre's House. Mrs. Flett had been educated at an Anglican mission school and had become expert in translating from English to Kutchin. She taught Robert Macdonald to speak Kutchin and helped him to translate the scriptures into Kutchin.[23] Macdonald married a Kutchin and this new wife, plus Mrs. Flett, supported the Anglican side.

Kirkby's most enduring work was his translation of a "number of prayers, hymns, and tracts, a catechism, short Bible lessons and an abridgement of Gospel history. He also collected materials from which a skeleton grammar and vocabulary were formed."[24] The tutoring of the "Little Minister" and the subject matter of what he collected were, however, the product of the Kutchin. Like so many missionaries and Anthropologists who studied languages and history of native peoples, he forgot to credit the individuals for the service.

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[22] H. A. Cody, An Apostle of the North: Memoirs of Right Reverend William Bompas (London: Seeley and Co., Ltd., 1910), pp. 54-55.

[23] Weekes, op. cit., p. 110.

[24] M.E.J., op. cit., p. 64.

(69) Kutchin Cecilia Trains Father Seguin: Roman Catholic Missionary Journeys, Jean Seguin, 1862-1901

Father Grollier died on May 30, 1864. Of the funeral, Seguin wrote:

> The Indians and half breeds came in crowds to see him laid out in soutane, surplice and stole, and holding in his hands his Oblate Cross, which he kissed so often during his sufferings yesterday. I had covered his face, but the veil was taken away. The people could not tire of looking upon that face of their devoted apostle.[25]

Seguin attributed the tribute to the devotion of followers. For Seguin, the veiled Grollier was sufficient but the more practical Dene required the naked face. The missionary could with ease enter into the world of the visionary and the abstract (his frame of reference made this possible) but the Dene required the actual (his frame of reference required this).

Seguin remained with the Hareskin for forty-one years until his death in 1902. After repairing Grollier's house at Fort Good Hope, Seguin hurried off to counter Anglican influence of Kirkby in Fort McPherson. Seguin accompanied Kirkby to Lapierre House but the Kutchin there were too firmly attached to the Anglicans.

Kirkby now had the help of Robert Macdonald, a new minister with some Indian blood and the aid of a man named Houle at Fort Yukon. Houle served as interpreter and assistant to Macdonald. Seguin said:

> They [the Kutchin] were greatly under the influence of a man named Houle . . . Houle was supposed to have preached that - to say nothing of the tea and tobacco - the Protestant religion was far better than the Catholic: it did not interfere with polygamy or things like that.[26]

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[25] Duchaussois, op. cit., p. 323.

[26] Ibid., p. 325.

Houle was successful because he used the concrete -- the tea and tobacco, according to Seguin. Houle, too, managed to make his version more inviting to the Kutchin. The quotation indicated the bitterness of Seguin's disappointment as well as the significant support given the "Protestants" by the Kutchin of the McPherson area.

A schism arose among Seguin's flock in 1874 and Seguin had great difficulty in understanding why. A Hare woman told him:

> I thought you knew that, when the barges came down from La Loche Portage, our men told us that they had seen a man who had risen from the dead. This man, who died a year ago, had spent the winter with God Almighty, the Great Spirit, who sent him back to earth to complain of the priests, who were giving God too much to do. Owing to the priests, God had no time to smoke or sleep, and he wished it to be made known that it was very wrong not to work on Sunday and when the priests said mass, heaven became dark and God Almighty was displeased.[27]

The formula supplied by the missionaries had not the same application in native minds. Obviously, the natives applied the concepts of the missionaries to the natives' own context. It was not enough to supply the concept to people in another culture for that people took the concept and applied it to situations with which they were familiar and this resulting response would hardly meet the approval of the missionaries.

One of Seguin's great supporters among the Kutchin was the Catholic Chieftaness, Cecile (or Cecilia). Mme. Gaudet, the wife of the chief trader at Fort Good Hope, knew Cecilia as early as 1860. Cecilia was baptized by Grollier and became leader of the Red River and Mackenzie Kutchin. Duchaussois described her thus:

> She was a woman of powerful build with pride in her port, and defiance in her eye, very eloquent in speech, by her fearless

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[27] Ibid., pp. 328-29.

> reputation and sarcasm and always ready to drive home her points by fist or stick, more forcible than any drum ecclesiastic.[28]

Cecilia taught Seguin the Kutchin language. She served as interpreter for the Kutchin when Seguin preached in Hare. She learned the catechism by heart and taught it to others. She even served as Seguin's substitute while he was travelling. Cecilia, till she died in 1892, served as loyal, active and effective supporter of the Catholic church.

Seguin managed to heal the schism. In 1868, he established a mission at Arctic Red River, just below Point Separation on the Mackenzie River. Arctic Red River became the base for Catholic efforts to make contact with the Inuit and a centre for Kutchin Catholicism.

By 1901, Seguin had become blind and his loyal supporters sorrowfully led him to the canoe which would take him back to France and death in 1902. His associate, Brother Kearney, died in 1918 after serving fifty-seven years with the Hare. Father Petitot said of these same Hare: "They are as sprightly as Neapolitans, as talkative as Jews, as homely and friendly as children. [He found] these goodnatured, though ugly Hare skins as lively and frisky as a flight of Wagtails."[29] Petitot described the Hare in terms which he knew. He made analogies about the Hare just as the Hare made analogies when attempting to describe the white man's theology. There was a tendency to stereotype the races and cultures - to fit the natives into preconceived categories. Difficulty arose because all Neapolitans were not sprightly nor all Jews talkative. Both Petitot and the Dene fell heir to the errors of the inappropriate analogy.

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[28] Ibid., p. 339.

[29] Ibid., p. 295.

(66) "The Book of the Dene:" Roman Catholic Missionary Explorations of the Mackenzie River: Emile Petitot, 1864-72

Emile Petitot had come to the Great Slave Lake area in 1862. While in Fort Resolution, Ekunelyel taught him the Chipewyan language and Petitot began work on his French-Dene dictionary. During the years 1863-1864, he crossed Great Slave Lake six times, visited the Dogribs on the north side and stationed himself at Moose Island until August, 1864, when he was sent north to replace Father Grollier. Sanaindi, chief of the Dogribs, probably thinking of these comings and goings, gave the following assessment of Petitot:

> Eh! Menounlay-ya-tree!
> The French prayer man are rash and unbearable. No one can command but they, not even in our country. Here is one of them, the one whom we have summoned to baptize us. We long desired his coming, we greeted him as a dear relation, we listened to his words, we loved him, we sheltered him and fed him.
>
> Now then, can we get anything out of him in return, we, the chiefs? No more than could those children yonder. He is alone in this land of ours, without relatives, without protection. But this does not keep him from defying us all. He knows nothing but his own will, and wants everybody to bow his head before him. Yet, I am a chief, I, Sanaindi! My hair is white with age!
>
> Why does he not obey me, like our Dene witch doctors? If I bid them, "Sing for us!" they obey. If I say, "Attend to this patient!" they attend to him. This little French priest is the only one who will say, "No!"
>
> If we offer to pay him for baptism, he flashes with indignation. He pours water of baptism on the head of the evil because he knows not their bad heart, and withholds it from the good, whom he mistakes for the evil.
>
> No sooner do we ask him to stay, than he takes his leave. If we dismiss him, he stays! He thinks he is the only man on the earth, Kay-odeha, and he will never submit to anyone, not even to me, the chief, while he lives in my tent and in our forests, the forests we have occupied since the beginning of time.[30]

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[30] Marius Barbeau and Grace Melvin, The Indian Speaks (Toronto: Macmillan, 1943), pp. 49-50.

The speech is most revealing in that the Dogrib portray the visitor as he is rarely seen in the journals. It is a symbolic speech whose theme echoed and reechoed at the 1970's Berger Hearings. To the Dene the visitors have been and are a conundrum, a contradictory, assertive, aggressive, childish figure. Sanaindi expressed the image well! In 1865, Petitot travelled to Fort Anderson and then explored the Anderson River to its source. This was the first of five visits to the Inuit which he made in the space of fifteen years. Here he met Noulloumallok-Innonarana, chief of the Tchiglit. Noulloumallok took Petitot to the Arctic Sea. Noulloumallik had great respect for Petitot and called him "Mr. Petitot, son of the sun" (Mitchi Pitchitork Tchikraynarn iyaye).[31]

Not until 1868 did Petitot visit the Tchiglit again. After his 1865 visit, an epidemic had struck and the Tchiglit blamed Petitot. The latter did not remain long in this uncomfortable atmosphere. Thus ended the third attempt of the Roman Catholics to establish a mission among the Inuit. Grollier had established contact in 1861.

In his book, Les Grandes Esquimaux, Petitot said:

> This book is not for the young. Eskimos cannot be models to them in any particular. The human traits exhibited by those people of the far North are not ones that can be set as examples to young people of good morals and Christian upbringing.[32]

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[31] Donat Savoie, ed., The Amerindians of North-West Canada in the Nineteenth Century According to Emile Petitot. Volume I: The Tchiglit Eskimo. Volume II: The Loucheux Indians, Preceeded by a Presentation of Dene Indians (Canada: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1970), p. 43.

[32] Ibid., p. 45.

Further he wrote:

> . . . this nation displays intelligence. This is amply demonstrated by their native ingenuity, their love of work and the relative degree of comfort they have achieved in their daily lives. Thieving, irascible, mendacious, distrustful, unreliable they take on with you an overwhelming conceit, treat you as inferiors or, at any rate, as equals . . . they are shamelessly dishonest, laugh impertinently at anything you say or do, ape your every action . . . break, destroy or steal anything that does not belong to them, and are ever ready to thrust a knife into the midrift of anyone who happens to turn up . . . the Eskimos do have moral qualities and human virtues . . . they are hospitable . . . fearless . . . They remember benefits received, are devoid of jealousy and show consideration for one another.[33]

Petitot made a sweeping generalization about the human traits and moral state of the Inuit. He commended their ingenuity, as well he might, for he depended on them as Sanaindi claimed Petitot was dependent on the Dogrib. Petitot attributed other qualities not so easy to establish. What Petitot called thievery, Inuit called sharing; each adjective Petitot supplied might have another added from the Inuit frame of reference. Thus the paired words have one from each frame of reference. Petitot, in telling the Inuit that they were living in sin, was met by irascibility. The Inuit were simply objecting to Petitot's version. If the Inuit were mendacious, Petitot, who was not fluent in the language, would not be the best judge. The Inuit had every right to be distrustful -- had they not had experience with the whitemen who seemed to them to be allies of the Kutchin? Petitot was annoyed at being treated as an equal or at being laughed at. Even the "knife in the midrift" has to be put in the context of the period. Of the five qualities which Petitot praised, three of them represented Commandments and the other two emanated out of the

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[33] Ibid., p. 45.

Commandments. By Petitot's own criteria, the Inuit fared very well. The underlying reason for Petitot's appraisal of the bad qualities in the Inuit was that he had been forced to leave Fort Anderson in 1865 because he had been blamed for bringing on an epidemic. A missionary spurned brings on a bad appraisal.

Between 1866 and 1879 Petitot made many visits to Smith and Keith Bays, the middle part of Dease and McVicar Arms of Great Bear Lake. Petitot wrote extensively of the Dogrib, Slave and Hare Indians of these parts. Petitot listed ten locations for Kutchin, six for Hare, four for Slave, four for Dogrib and six for Chipewyans. Petitot categorized the Dene languages as being of four types: the Montagnais, the Montagnards, the Slaves and the Loucheux. Within the Montagnards he included the Chipewyan proper, the Athabascans (around that lake), the caribou eaters and the Yellowknives. With Slave he included the Strong Bows of Franklin, Dogribs, Hare, and Mountain people. Among the Kutchin he listed thirteen tribes.

Petitot collected legends as well for all the Dene people. He obviously considered the languages as innately of value and not merely as a vehicle for proselytization. He saw literary and content value in the legends and myths. For each of the groups - Kutchin, Hare, Dogrib, Slave, Chipewyan and Yellowknife - he had numerous informants. Petitot's knowledge of the language, his continuous travels and his knowledge of the people gave him unparalleled advantage over all who had visited the Dene. Rasmussen, who was part Inuit, could do similar work with the Inuit. Petitot's works with linguistics and myth and legend gathering were unparalleled. In order to accomplish the feat of writing them, however, he had to have access to the people and he had to know the language.

Petitot's other works included Autour du Grand Lac des Eclaves. In it he told of the three years that he spent around Great Slave Lake from 1862-64. In Exploration du la Region du Grand Lacs du Ours, he described his trips about Great Bear Lake from 1866 to 1879. In Quinze Ans sous le Circle Polaire, he discussed his explorations from 1862 to 1877.

Petitot, in his literary works, gave fallacious statements of the history of the north. He told of Hearne naming Lake Athabasca as "Lake of the Hills" in 1771 and how Joseph Frobisher set up a fort on Lake Athabasca in 1778. Petitot mentioned the half-breed Canadian family of Beaulieu had settled at Salt River and that Beaulieu's nephew was Sir John Franklin's hunter and interpreter. These were but a few of the errors. Hearne did not visit Lake Athabasca but named Great Slave Lake as Athapuscow nor was it Frobisher who set up a fort on Lake Athabasca; nor was it Jacques, a nephew of Francois Beaulieu, but it was Old Man Beaulieu, son of the first Francois, who aided Franklin.

His summary of the Indian side of their history appeared to be much more correct. Petitot argued that Lake Athabasca, the Slave River and the shores of Great Slave Lake were occupied by 'Slaves,' characterized by their timidity. These 'timid' ones recognized two divisions among themselves -- the northernmost being the Hares and the southernmost being the rabbits or Chipewyan. The Crees applied the perjorative name 'Slave' because of the timidity of the people. Also, the Crees knew them as the "tailed people" because the Dene wore a smock or shirt which had a pointed tail at the front and the back.

The Crees, according to Petitot, lived on the banks of the Beaver-Churchill River which they termed the Missinipi. The Chipewyan lived along the Peace River after it crosses the Rocky Mountains. They did not move down to the area of Great Slave Lake and the Frog Portage on the English or Churchill River until much later. The traditional home was in the Rocky Mountains and from this fact they were sometimes called the Montagnais or Highlanders.

According to Petitot, the Cree carried on a pitiless war against the 'Slaves' and forced them to flee northward to Great Slave Lake. The Crees were called the Ennas and such was the slaughter by the Ennas (Strangers, enemies) that many of the islands and archipelagos in 1883 bore the names such as 'Dead Man's Isle.' The Dene remained to the north until epidemics reduced the number of Crees. While the Dene lived in the north, they split up into their divisions of Dogrib, Hareskin, Highlanders, Slaves, etc.

Petitot argued that the Chipewyan on the Peace River exerted pressure on the Cree. The Chipewyans began to move east and north. The Chipewyan had pressure on their western flank by the Sekanis (men who live on the mountains) who had come from the western slope of the Rockies. The Beaver, also, went into the western plains as far as the Saskatchewan River where they were known as the Sarci. In the meantime, the English had established themselves on the Churchill River. The Chipewyans moved north to Great Slave Lake and east onto the Barrens and split up into two divisions -- the Yellowknives and the caribou eaters. This is the obverse side of the coin to the westward expansion of the Europeans.

Petitot wrote:

> Commerce and religion have materially civilized the manners and character of the Cree, Chipewyan and Beaver Indians inhabiting the Athabasca district. They are at present quiet, peaceable, inoffensive and friendly to the white men, but very much diminished in numbers, the failure of animal life, and the extraordinary decrease

> for many years in the waters of the rivers and lakes, which has destroyed fish-life to an imense extent and driven away wild-fowl, having caused such a famine that many died of hunger and misery between 1879-1881. There were 900 Chipewyan and 300 Crees at Fort Chipewyan in 1862, but in 1879 I could only find 537 Chipewyan and 86 Crees, even including those living on the river Athabasca. Now there is but one single family of Crees at the lake, and the remnants of the tribe have gone away to join their fellows of the Peace River.
>
> The same fate has befallen the Chipewyans. In their total of 500 must be reckoned those of Fort Smith, at the foot of the rapids of the Slave River, as well as those of the Salt River, and as many families at the Great Slave Lake and River.
>
> In short, the Athabasca district, comprising the Peace River and parts of both the Lesser and Great Slave Lakes, now contain no more than 2,268 souls, including 150 half castes and 57 white men of various origin - English, Scotch, Irish and French Canadians.[34]

Thus, did Petitot give a bird's eye view of the situation in the Upper Mackenzie area in 1883. In other words, he described the lower Mackenzie and Mackenzie delta. It is noteworthy that if there were only fifty-seven white men in the most populated part of the Territories' area, then the number of white men through an area one-third the present area of Canada was scarcely more than one hundred and this after some 880 years since the coming of the Vikings and some three hundred years after Frobisher's visits. All but a few of these hundred whites were transients. The white man had come, he had visited but he had not stayed.

Petitot made thorough study of the Athapaskan languages. He considered that by studying a language he would discover the origins of the people who devised the language. From his study he determined that there existed a primitive and universal language. Said he in 1867:

> Each tribe speaks a dialect of its own. The original language stock is not found in America. The Indian dialects bear the same

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[34] Emile Petitot, "On the Athabasca District of the Canadian North-west Territory," Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, pp. 633-55.

> relation to that stock as French, Italian, Spanish and Provencal to Latin. The Dene dialects are what Humbolt calls agglutinative, and Duponceau polysynthetic - i.e., attaching many meanings to one word. The Dene does not reflect upon his thoughts or impressions. He runs on . . . hence the difficulty of distinguishing roots from accidental additives. The Dene language consists in great measure of words of one syllable, like Chinese, and perhaps all primitive languages . . .[35]

Petitot seemed to go beyond his data. While his work with a description of the languages was seminal, he makes the great leap from this description to attributing that all languages are derived from a single original one. His "back to the Bible" and the truths therein fixed his attention on attempting to prove that the Bible descriptions of man's origins were essentially true. His frame of reference determined his mode of thought.

Petitot further noted that the language determined the mode of thought of the Dene -- they "ramble on" and do not discipline "thoughts" or "impressions." He emphasized the "primitiveness" of the language and considered it as not having qualities of being able to express great thoughts or abstractions. The European theme recurs -- the Dene have neither mode of life or thought that reaches the European level of either.

Petitot's chief contribution in the field of linguistics was his Dictionary of the Dene - Dindjie. He explained the term thus:

> By combining the word dene, which applies to the Chipewyans, the southermost tribe, with the word dindjie which describes the Loucheux, the northernmost tribe, I have included under a composite name . . . the entire and as yet little-known nation of American hyperborean Redskins.[36]

Petitot included in the dictionary words from Chipewyan, Hareskin and

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[35] Duchaussois, op. cit., p. 27.

[36] Savoie, op. cit., Vol II, p. 29.

Loucheux as well as words peculiar to seven other dialects of the same language. He compared these languages to other living languages and came to the conclusion that the Déné-Dingjié language originated in Asia. Petitot thus subscribed to the theory that man had advanced over the Bering Strait corridor from Asia. Said he:

> It being established that one or two large families of North American Indians immigrated to America by way of Asia, we have only to look for linguistic affinities between those families and other Indians living more to the south to establish clearly that the American variety is largely of Asiatic origins . . . and that . . . after comparison it seemed to me, that their Navaho language is identical with the Déné-Dindjié, and constitutes merely a different dialect . . . and . . . the Quichoa language of the Incas and Déné-Dindjié have exactly the same very complicated alphabet.[37]

Petitot, on the basis of thirteen years of study, and not under the best of study conditions, connected ten dialects of his Dene-Dindjie peoples along with the Tchiglit Inuit and the Navaho and Incas to establish his conclusion that these peoples were not autochthonous and did not originate in North America. He went even farther:

> Since the traditional story of Moses had been preserved in a more archaic form among the peoples of the far north . . . than among the civilized peoples that were at one time in contact with the Israelites; since they claim that their hero (in whose guise we have recognized all the features characteristic of Moses) was their emancipator, their legislator, their father, and still is their benefactor and their God; since in addition to clinging to those excellent traditions . . . all of their customs and feasts that corroborate and support their traditions, it seems to us that no further doubt remains possible. We have, in the Dene-Dindjie people, some of the last remnants of Israel . . . sullied by the fetishism of shammanism, those remnants are mixed with other elements of evidently Asiatic origin.[38]

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[37] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[38] Ibid., p. 64.

Petitot recognized certain features of Déné-Dindjié religion as being of worth -- those elements that supported what Petitot believed in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. He recognized that the Dene had a religion, albeit inferior and sullied by "fetishism" and "Shamanism" but he ascribed this religion as being derived from the same origin as that of the Europeans. He could not conceive of the Dene arriving at their own religious experience.

One of the pieces of evidence that Petitot cited to illustrate that the Dene had heard of the Son of God coming to earth was from the tale of an old "sorceress." Said she:

> Yes. Long before the white men appeared amongst us, my mother told me that a star had appeared in the west-southwest, and that many of our people followed it. Since that time we are separated from each other. The Montagnais are in the south; their arrows are no good. But the Dene, the real men, we remained in the Rocky Mountains and it is not long since we came here to the banks of the Mackenzie.[39]

Petitot used the tale of the "sorceress" when it suited his argument. He did have an immense number of informants in order to acquire his version or knowledge of language and history. He approached his studies with a conceptual framework influenced by his own religious studies and missionary zeal. While he gathered much information, Petitot could not refrain from making conclusions far beyond his data. He did, however, concede that the Dene had a religion and a mode of thought.

Petitot travelled almost continuously until 1876. His health failed and he had to return to France. If Kirkby for the Anglicans was the chief opposition for Grollier, then the one opposing missionary comparable to Petitot was the "roving cruiser," William Carpenter Bompas.

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[39] Duchaussois, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

(70) Antoine, Christian Kia, Shipataitook and Mrs. Andrew Flett: Anglican Missionary Travels: William Carpenter Bompas, 1865-91

If Emile Petitot had an Anglican counterpart, it would be William Carpenter Bompas, first Anglican Bishop of Athabasca. If the Beaulieus, the Houles, Sanaindi, Noulloumallok and Cecilia had given shelter and care to Petitot, such people as Antoine, Christian Kia, Shipataitook and Mrs. Andrew Flett did the same for Bompas.

Bompas had entered the Anglican-Catholic struggle for northern souls in 1865, a year later than Petitot. Ill health forced Petitot back to France whereas Bompas died in harness in the Yukon in 1891.

Bompas reached Fort Simpson on Christmas Day, 1865. He had been recruited to replace the ailing Robert Macdonald. By the time Bompas reached the north, Macdonald had recovered. Kirkby instructed Bompas in native languages during the winter of 1865-66 and then by Easter Bompas travelled to Fort Norman. A scarlet fever epidemic had broken out in the area in 1865. A temporary school had been set up to look after the children whose parents had died in the epidemic.

Antoine became friendly with Bompas at Fort Norman. Antoine built his house near to the mission and was baptized by Bompas before the former died. Christian Kia, another Hare, served Bompas well at Fort Norman. Of Kia, Bompas said: "He took me in his canoe to the Indian camps, hunted for me, housed me and waited on me with every care and attention."[40]

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[40] H. A. Cody, An Apostle of the North. Memoirs of the Right Reverend William Carpenter Bompas, D.D. (London: Seeley and Co., 1908), p. 62.

Bompas accompanied Robert Macdonald down the Mackenzie to Fort McPherson and then set out with two Inuit to visit the camp of Shipataitook. On the way, Bompas received a message from that chief informing him that the "Esquimaux were starved and quarrelling, and one had just been stabbed and killed." Cody, Bompas' biographer, claimed it revealed Bompas' courage in continuing the journey but the message also revealed the responsibility felt by Shipataitook. Bompas became stricken by snow blindness and for three days he was led by the hand by the Inuit into the camp of Shipataitook. On the return journey, Bompas accompanied the Inuit on the 250 mile trip to Fort McPherson. The journey, made difficult by the rough ice, frustrated the Inuit. They grumbled and cast threatening glances at Bompas at whose doorstep they laid all the blame for the trouble. Cody told the following story:

> Old Shipataitook was to be reckoned with . . . He had heard the threatening words, and when the plotters were about to fall upon this victim, he told them to wait, as he had something to tell them before they proceeded farther. Then he began a strange story, which falling on the ears of the naturally superstitious natives, had a great effect. He told them he had a remarkable dream the night before. They had moved up the river, and were almost at Fort McPherson, and as they approached they saw the banks lined with Hudson's Bay Company's men and Indians, all armed ready to shoot them down in the boats if they did not have the white man with them.[41]

The story had its effect; Bompas remained unharmed; Shipataitook had won the day.

Twenty years later, Takachikima, son of this chief, remembered the white man who had lived with his father. "Why would they not listen to him?" he used to say. "We were like dogs. We now know what our fathers missed."[42]

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[41] Ibid., p. 123.

[42] Ibid., p. 125.

Bompas was welcomed back to Fort McPherson by Andrew Flett. Flett had been sympathetic with the work of Anglican missionaries and during his ten year stay in McPherson had done all he could to help them. Flett's wife had helped Bompas in his study of the Kutchin language.

Flett was succeeded by others that held Anglicans in great esteem. John Firth, who founded a large and influential family in McPherson, aided Issac Stringer and Archibald Flemming in the 1890's and 1900's. McPherson served as the Anglican base from which they were to launch very successful missions to the Inuit in the 1890's just as Arctic Red River served the Roman Catholics for their attempts. In both cases, Fort McPherson and Arctic Red River became nominally Anglican or Roman Catholic and remained so because of the very real efforts of the local people.

Bompas returned to the Kutchin saying of them:

> I have been much cheered in my work among them by finding them all eager for instruction and warm hearted in their reception of the missionary. Each day I spend in the Loucheux camps was like a Sunday, as the Indians were clustered around me from early morning till late at night, learning prayers, hymns and Scripture lessons as I was able to teach them. I never met with so earnest a desire after God's word, nor have I passed so happy a time since I left England.[43]

Bompas went on to other places and higher offices but he always had this high regard for the Kutchin.

Images of the Inuit and Dene as Portrayed by the Journals

Very clear images of old Man Beaulieu, Mme. Houle, Mrs. Andrew Flett, Cecilia, Mrs. Robert Macdonald, Sanaindi, Noulloumallok, Antoine,

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[43] Ibid., pp. 138-39.

Christian Kia and Shipataitook emerged from the writings of the authors describing the missionary expeditions. These individuals were sometimes chosen by the authors to serve as foils for the main actors on the stage - the missionaries. The main object of the authors was to unashamedly project the accomplishments of their own denomination. If the natives were converted then they were listed as achievements of the missionary. When converted, the "converted" became a changed person. Before conversion he had no morality, religion or philosophy; after conversion, he sloughed off his pagan ways.

Frobisher, Davis and Baffin claimed the Inuit to be an uncivil, brutish people with a pagan set of beliefs. Miertsching and Warmow maintained that the ills the Inuit endured were due to their ignorance of Christianity. The majority of the missionaries considered conversion only a matter of instruction. If the native people were given the "facts" then they would automatically make the connection, become converted and thus civilized. Grollier symbolically had the Kutchin and Inuit chiefs meet that they would remember and thereafter be peaceful. Grollier, like Franklin, saw himself as the mediator between warring peoples. Kirkby claimed he could tell which people were the more intelligent even though he had limited use of the languages involved. Kirkby saw a people without a religion, morality, civilization and conscience. He maintained that Kutchin religion consisted of incantations to ward off evil but had not overarching philosophy. Sanaindi saw the aggressiveness, obstinacy, and arrogance of ungrateful white priests who would not take Dene advice. Petitot argued that the Inuit could not be used as a model for children because they had too many faults. Petitot collected information about the language, customs, history and oral literature of the tribes but he used the material to attempt to prove the unity of man's origin, the origination of the Dene in Asia, and the fact that the Dene were descendents of the Israelites.

Frame of Reference of the Authors of the Journals

Frobisher, Davis and Baffin were products of the religious struggles in Europe. Frobisher's men looked for witches and heresy and they saw that for which they had looked. The people of a different culture appeared to them as agents of the evil one, capable of every treachery and deception and therefore these agents had few rights as humans. Davis saw Inuit words spoken over a fire as incantations. Baffin saw the stone carvings as idolatry. All these men saw English culture as the pinnacle of civilization. It remained only to show these lesser beings the product of "civilization" and they would then automatically see their deficiencies and self correct to model themselves on European man.

Even Miertsching in the 1850's was saddened over the ills of the Inuit that he met with McClure. Only if those Inuit would have the 'word' then they would realize the error of their ways. The ills of the Inuit were due to their not receiving the 'word.' Warmow agreed as he visited the opposite side of northern North America. These were typical attitudes of the evangelists of the Nineteenth Century.

The Roman Catholic and Anglican mission expeditions followed in 1858. Both denominations of missionaries totally accepted their own cultural truths and judged the Inuit and Dene on this basis. Industriousness, cleanliness, orderliness, truthfulness, acceptance of the rights of property and keeping one's promises were the keys to high regard. One had to develop one's character in this mould then one would become an acceptable person. The native, according to this conceptualization, had to become more like the model missionary. The native had to learn about sin and to feel guilt, and then he could be saved. In the missionary view, the native had no morality, civilization, civil authority, religion, or philosophy. The native's character was a tabula rasa on which could be written beautiful deeds and thoughts.

Near the end of the 1880's, missionaries learned some appreciation of Inuit and Dene life. Petitot realized the value of the language, mythology and history and made the first careful collection of all these items. Such as Seguin and Bompas learned the value of the Inuit and Dene relationship and spoke glowingly of it.

The Elizabethans had considered the Inuit as a people possessed by almost satanic powers. The earlier Nineteenth Century missionaries considered the same people as totally without civilization or those things that went along with civilization. Only late in the Nineteenth Century did the value of Inuit and Dene language, oral tradition and history gain some recognition.

Relationships: Who Influenced Whom?

Obviously, the missionary required native people in all phases of their work. When the first missionaries went into the north they were first housed by the fur trader or whaler personnel. If the missionary wanted to learn the language, however, he had to live among the people. In living with them, the missionaries became familiar with the problems of northern living. Petitot, for example, was housed, fed, clothed and instructed by the Dene just as Bompas was by the Kutchin. Powerful supporters fought the missionary battles against the opposition denomination. Arctic Red River Kutchin Catholics became pitted against their cousins, Fort McPherson Kutchin Anglicans. Paralleled with the gradual acceptance of denominations, the people gathered in settlements around the fur trade posts. These posts, with the later attached church missions and schools, became more the centre of Dene life and the people became more dependent on the Europeans.

CHAPTER 12

THE RECURRING IMAGES

Each of the seventy-two expeditions provided grist of evidence of images of the Dene and Inuit dramatis personae. Each of the seventy-seven journals had authors who had frames of reference which directed the authors to focus on certain aspects of Inuit and Dene life. As a result of the seventy-two expeditions, relationships were established between visitor and visited. What images, frames of reference and relationships existed and how they changed over time is the subject of this concluding chapter.

The 'Dramatis Personae' Identified

The list of 321 Dene, Inuit or others in Appendix B is not exhaustive of all Inuit or Dene in the journals but they do represent individuals on which the journal authors made most comments. Because an Inuit or Dene name appeared in the journals did not mean that the individual would be described in the thesis or named in Appendix B. The individual had to enter into the ongoing activities of the expedition and be commented on several times by the author in order to make that list.

Of the seventy-two expeditions chosen for the study, fifty-two expeditions went to areas that were inhabited predominantly by Inuit and twenty visited areas inhabited by Dene. The fact that 234 Inuit appear in Appendix B as compared to 81 Dene can be seen to be related to the number of expeditions that entered Inuit or Dene territory. Since there were fewer expeditions to Dene territory, there were fewer journals to comment on the Dene and thus fewer Dene *dramatis personae* would emerge.

The Inuit occupied coastal lands. Every seagoing expedition had to touch coastal lands first. Seagoing expeditions greatly outnumbered overland by a ratio of forty-four to twenty-eight so this indicated a tendency for the Inuit to get more attention.

To remedy this imbalance, fur trade post journals and church records needed to be examined. The imbalance was caused by the nature and choice of the documents selected originally. To overcome this imbalance, further research is required which would augment greatly the list of *personae*.

What brought the Inuit and Dene *dramatis personae* to the notice of the authors of the journals was their utility. The visitors needed information and help and the Inuit and Dene supplied the same. The journals supplied the names of individuals who were useful to the expeditions. There were few individuals that were obstacles. Conne-e-quese, Chawchinahaw, the Shakes, Angina, Ayug-galook, Adam Beck, Mackachy, Mashvoek, Michel, Navaranaq, Naybyah, Oo-oo-took, and Shovel Jack were labelled by authors as having some degree of villainy. There were others who had degrees of villainy but their utility outweighed their evil in the eyes of the authors. The criteria for the selection of the Inuit and Dene *dramatis personae* was obviously utility to the visitors. How present day Inuit and Dene consider or judge these individuals is yet to be revealed. Were they traitors, Quislings, third columnists, "Vendus" in the eyes of the Inuit, or were they humane, co-operative, selfless, generous individuals as the journal writers sometimes claimed? This judgment awaits a verdict but the verdict will come from the Inuit and Dene.

The Changing Images as Portrayed by the Authors of Journals

The Norse viewed the Skraeling as adversaries -- competitors for the land on which the Norse had designs. So hostile and avaricious were the Norse that Skraeling difference in the Norse mind became a sinister characteristic. The Norse saw their own image in the Skraeling. Vicious, brutish, sinister, brave, and skilled in the sea arts were the attributes of that projected image.

So, too, with the early English visitors to Baffin and Hudson Bay. Visitors from Frobisher to Baffin saw in the Inuit aspects that were characteristic of themselves. The Inuit were described as being hagridden, possessed of witchcraft, idolatrous and users of incantations. Acquisitiveness, the very point of the visitor's presence, was quickly recognized and the product of the hunt with its resulting blood and gore reminded the visitors of the horrors which existed at home. The horrors of the religious wars and the terrors of theological disputes and their results were automatically seen in the Inuit. Kidnapping became duty for an eager European audience awaiting to see the half-animal product of such endeavours.

Earlier visitors to Hudson Bay remained only for a sailing season but such as James, Button and Munk did brave out a winter but at terrible cost. Experienced 'New World' hands such as Radisson, Groseilliers and Jérémie taught others how to endure the cold and privation and these, with Indian help, established forts at the bottom of the Bay. The fur trade depended on the native and so his help was courted. In accepting the Indian help, the fur trader came into intimate contact. Dependence birthed a grudging respect at least for individuals. Cree introduced the Chipewyan and the Chipewyan revealed other Dene nations far to the west. The Chipewyan, at first, was a conundrum to the trader because he spoke a difficult language, had to traverse great distances under great hardship, was protective of his role as middleman, who refused to trade for rum, and had few 'imaginary' wants. The fur traders sent gifts, made trade captains and finally committed their own persons to travel with the Dene. Stuart accompanied Thanadelthur as Hearne did Matonabbee. Kelsey accompanied the southern Indians as Richard Norton travelled northward with the Chipewyan boy.

From the Hearne era, such individuals as Rabbit's Head and Awgeenah were habituated so that when the pedlars of the North West Company were ready to enter the southern door at the Mackenzie River base, there were individuals who knew how to serve the interests of the North West Company and could transplant what had happened at Hudson Bay to the Mackenzie region. Pond quickly learned from the Dene as evidenced by his three maps. Turnor, Fidler and Thompson of the Hudson's Bay Company quickly utilized Dene geographical knowledge. Both companies recognized the need to ally themselves with the most influential tribesmen. Even after the union of the two companies in 1821, until the coming of the missionaries, the Mackenzie region was a battleground for competing traders in opposition to the monopolistic monolith, the Hudson's Bay Company, because the Dene tended to be fiercely independent and proud. He did not dance easily to another's tune. When the Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries came with their competing theologies, the Dene entered into the spirit of the race for souls with the same enthusiasm that they had in the battle for the furs. But by the 1820's the fur traders recognized the worth of certain 'leading' Dene. They were the means by which the "lesser" Dene could be webbed to the fur trade commercialism.

The professional "explorer" such as John Franklin, George Back and Dr. Richardson saw only unorganized, unlicensed rabble. Dr. Richardson, John Rae, Richard King and Thomas Simpson were more flexible and adaptable. They rose above their disciplines. Because all of the above individuals were involved in overland expeditions, they were thrown into intimate contact with the people. Franklin, Back, Richardson and Simpson transplanted "Old England" and their expeditions were little oases of culture moving across the map. Rae learned to live with the people and to adopt their customs in areas such as food, housing, clothing and transport.

All these Victorian gentlemen were firmly convinced that they were dealing with the 'lesser breeds,' that Englishmen must be a model, that the natives needed Christian instruction, that the native life was a form of degeneracy with no values, religion or organized thought. Franklin had his three square meals a day (when available), Richardson had Michel summarily shot on the trail, Simpson had his 'bits of brown' and Back and Hood almost had their duel over Greenstockings. These were men, who in their own concept, were above the common Inuit and Dene and they acted it out in their endeavours. All save Rae castigated the natives for laziness, improvidence, unthinking behaviour, cruelty, not keeping promises without considering that the 'mote' might be in their own eyes.

The seagoing expeditions after 1820 still had the aspect of the two solitudes. Men in ships tended to be able to retain their cultural surroundings and cusion themselves in their own cultural milieu. Parry and Lyon lived in the Fury and Hecla but visited the curious Winter Islanders and the Igloolik people. Parry and Lyon were interested in the customs of the people and indulged themselves in observing the seal hunt or spending a night in an igloo. The Rosses longed for the association with the Netsilik and there was grudging admiration for the skills and abilities of certain Inuit. On the other hand, Rae copied the habits, igloo, clothing and dog transport. Franklin, without interpreter, acting on incomplete and inaccurate data, sailed into one of the most inaccessible spots in the lower Arctic archipelago. Franklin and crew had learned little about Arctic survival. When forced to leave their cultural womb of ships, without the arsenal of the Inuit and without access to communication to learn of the arsenal, the crews were doomed.

William Gibson claims that the supposition that if the "Franklin party had earlier sought out the Eskimos, fraternized with them . . . a great number [of the Franklin party] might well have been preserved" is unwarrantable.[1] Gibson cites the poverty of population in the area, the scarcity of game, and the non-existence of contact with the Inuit before the Erebus and Terror were lost. Franklin did not intend nor was his expedition planned to contact the Inuit. No interpreters were provided. The personnel of the expedition did not realize until too late where their salvation might lie -- with the Inuit. Gibson's assertion that "To suggest that a few primitive Eskimos could support or materially assist . . . a large body of white men, is attributing too much to their skill as hunters and the extent of the available game resources at their disposal"[2] begs contradiction. Large parties of "white men" were supported by the Inuit; witness the evidence of Schwatka, Stefansson, Rasmussen, Ross, the whalers, Rae, Kane and Hayes.

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[1] William Gibson, "Sir John Franklin's Last Voyage," Beaver, Outfit 268, #1, June, 1937, p. 72.

The image of the "primitive Eskimo" who could not or would not help the beleaguered Franklin survivors was retained even to the time of writing of the Gibson article in 1937.

Then came the greatest of all Arctic searches in the search for the lost ships and crews. The first sea search attempts found where the Franklin ships were not. Bellot, in 1854, wanted to seek Inuit informants; Kennedy forbade him. The Admiralty had published an Inuit phrase book for use in the search; it seemed only a token. The inevitable had arrived. The Europeans could not effectively search, nor travel, and had difficulty even surviving. The cultural cushion provided by the ships were meshed in the ice. The sea had become like the land with the coming ice. The Europeans were forced to look to the Inuit. With dramatic justice, Rae accidentally heard the Inuit testimony from In-nook-poo-zhee-jook. Displaying confidence in the Inuit report, Rae returned to England with the story of the fate of the Franklin crew. Three years later, McClintock, utilizing Inuit sledge technology, a Danish interpreter who knew Inuktitut, plus two Inuit, Anton Christian and Sammuel Emmanuel, visited the places so accurately reported by the Inuit. McClintock reported the Inuit as healthy, comfortable and enjoying their homeland. Rae, McClintock, Hall, Schwatka and Stefansson pointed to the fact that the Franklin crews died from scurvy, starvation or the cold in a land that was relatively rich in provisions and where Inuit had been raising their families in comfort for centuries. From 'wretched peoples' the Inuit were now described as healthy, independent, happy people in their own environment.

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[2] Ibid., p. 72.

A new siren call beckoned to the Europeans -- the North Pole. Hall, Kane, Hayes and Nares flung themselves into the competition to get farthest north. All these men began with a superiority complex with the Inuit. Hall recognized the value of the Inuit oral tradition, technology and knowledge of conditions. He had learned that in living with the Baffin Inuit and in his expedition to King William Island. Hall recognized the value of Ebierbing and Tookoolito. These two opened the new realm of knowledge to Hall. But Hall, too, as much as he appreciated the values of the Inuit, saw but darkly. He did not penetrate into the realm of Inuit philosophy, religion and thought; his Christian upbringing prevented him. Hall considered the Inuit worldly wise but spiritually or thought wise impoverished. Kane entered the Arctic world believing in white racial superiority; he left it believing in brotherhood with the Inuit. Kane and Hayes, with all the academic equipment that America could provide, were unfitted to meet the Arctic environment. Kane's attitude changed but not Hayes'. Hayes and Nares threw their crews into areas where Inuit dared not enter during the winter periods. Both parties lost many men to scurvy. The Inuit of Etah played the Angels of Mercy. Hendrik, Ebierbing and Tookoolito and families saved the lives of part of the Polaris crew. The Inuit of Etah helped Kane and Hayes expeditions to escape their icy prison. So seriously was the Nares' expedition personnel affected with scurvy that a Parliamentary inquiry was ordered. The scurvy suffered by the Nares' expedition was the most severe suffered by any expedition unless that of Munk be considered. The former thrust itself so far north that not even Hendrik, Frederick, Carl Petersen, or the Inuit of Etah could help it. Hendrik felt he was not always listened to in any case.

Schwatka fared much differently in his trip to King William Island. He paid attention to Inuit report and adopted Inuit travel strategies. Ebierbing and the Inuit hunters provided all the necessaries and this included fresh provisions which prevented scurvy. Schwatka had learned his Arctic lessons from the best teachers.

Whaler, fur trader and sailor saw the devastation of the Inuit and Dene caused by commerce, epidemics and unprincipled dealings. They recognized the enormity of the unfairness to native people. Almost universally they diagnosed the cause -- the Dene and Inuit lacked the armour of spirituality. Their own activities were not taken into account by these authors. The Inuit and Dene 'lack' was cited. The 'lack' could be remedied by the missionary so the authors argued. So blinded was the latter by his own belief, the missionary often could not recognize the qualities that were already there in the Inuit and Dene character. All those qualities that the Inuit and Dene were supposed to have lacked -- brotherhood, generosity, sharing, cooperativeness, and openness -- were put at the missionaries disposal by the natives. For a 'lesser' people to act with such open handedness, missionaries such as Seguin, Kearney, Bompas and Petitot began to realize the value of the Inuit and Dene contribution. Familiarization brought some understanding and some recognition and a great deal of devotion. Grollier and Bompas died in harness to that devotion. Petitot, Kearney and Seguin retired with death at the door of their lives after years of service.

When the visitors described Inuit or Dene religions or care of sick, they tended to emphasize the superstitions. Seldom did they cite the "faith" implicit in the lay Inuit or Dene mind and yet this aspect is part of any cure. The medicine man usually received the term "conjuror" or "Shaman." Both terms have the elements of the trickster or wizard. Hearne described his experience and explained how he found a conjuror out. Franklin and Back described conjurors they had met. Tookoolito retained elements of the "Old Way" much to the disgust of Hall. The missionaries had very little respect for the Anjeko. But it was the European who made the equivalence between Shaman-Conjuror and Anjeko not the Inuit or Dene.

When the Europeans labelled Inuit or Dene thought as primitive, they were utilizing their own definition of what rationality was. The Greco-Roman idea of logic with all its rules and assumptions determines that other methods of thought based on other assumptions are not really rational at all. Without attempting to define Inuit or Dene thought, it can be seen that if their thought, upon which their actions and behaviours were based, worked in the Arctic and the Inuit and Dene were able to exist, even flourish, then there must be some rationality in it. But this the Europeans would not admit.

Over the 880 years, the Inuit and the Dene to some writers had come to be recognized as worthwhile; their utility to expeditions had become recognized; their material way of life had been copied; their contentment with their own lot had been commented on. So, too, had their deficiencies been listed but the list over time had shortened. "We had found brothers in a strange land," said Kane.

The Changing Frames of Reference of the Authors of the Journals

Images were directly related to the frames of reference of the authors of the journals. Authors tended to see in the Inuit and Dene what was in the mind of the perceiver.

At each meeting of the Norse and Skraeling, hostilities inevitably broke out. The Norse very often saw themselves in the Skraeling and so the Norse projected their own thoughts as motivation for Skraeling action. The Norse were acquisitive and jealous possessors. The Skraeling, acquisitive after wood and iron, had little conception of the 'rights of possession' on which the Norse based their actions.

The English of Frobisher and Baffin's time were consumed by their lust for the precious things of the land. Their frame of reference poisoned their minds against the Inuit. Joined with this was the hope to find the Straits of Anian which would lead them to fabled Cathay. This motivation permeated the period to the times of the Dobbs' inquiry. With the possible exception of Frobisher, all the visitors wanted to pass on to where the riches were. The riches that they imagined were not to be found in these lands. Even Hearne and Mackenzie had hope of a northern passageway through North America until they reached the Arctic coast.

Then the Straits of Anian myth became translated into finding a North West Passage through Arctic waters. When the third Franklin expedition became lost, then the motivation became that of finding Franklin. After the fate of Franklin had been revealed, then the goal became the North Pole or who could reach the farthest north. The visitors sought; they were transient. The Inuit were obstacles or aids in the eyes of the visitors so that the Europeans could get elsewhere. The utility of the Inuit and Dene startled the Europeans. In order to achieve his objective, the European found he had to depend on the Inuit and Dene.

The fur trader and the whaler developed motivations whose satisfaction could be achieved within the vast territory. The Cree and Dene early demonstrated their utility. Radisson, Groseilliers and Jérémie had North American experience. The profit motive drove their English successors to alliance with the Dene but the worth of the Dene was always judged by their usefulness to the fur trade.

In like manner but later in time, the whaler recognized the Inuit as a skilled help mate. The whaler saw in the Inuit the abilities which he wished to possess. The fact that the Inuit could do that which the whaler could not won early recognition among the whalers. In parts of Baffin and the coast of northern Hudson Bay, the whalers preceded the fur traders.

The missionaries depended completely on the natives for material things but the missionaries had little appreciation for the religion, philosophy and the ability to abstract of these peoples. The first vocabularies of native languages tended to be of a concrete nature and so the values, abstractions and spiritual thoughts of the natives were not sampled. If the latter had values, those values were only recognized if they conformed to the European. If the individuals possessed these values, it was attributed to their contact with Europeans. When individual missionaries did collect the myths, legends and oral traditions, it was to try to prove the theoretical hypotheses of the missionaries.

The frames of reference of the European had changed from regarding the natives as uncivilized, brutish, savage, unthinking, lower types of humans to humans who had not developed their power of thinking and who might, with the arts of 'civilization' and the 'Gospel,' achieve the status then held by Europeans.

The Changing Relationships

As frames of reference changed, so did relationships between visitor and visited.

The Norse and the Dorset Inuit possessed incompatibility in that they had many characteristics in common. The land jealous Norse recognized the potentiality of their 'new found' land which made it impossible to befriend the Skraeling. The two peoples had each their own solitude and the Norse colonies disappeared. Acculturation simply didn't occur.

The meetings of the Elizabethan Englishmen and the Inuit were marked by hostility. Each group had a curiosity about the other but each time of contact, relations turned sour. The Inuit remembered the kidnappings, and sought revenge for them. The Inuit relished the iron and wood products of their visitors whereas the English sought their Straits of Anian or valuable ores and saw the Inuit only as obstacles to fulfilling these aims. Mutual repulsion and revulsion, after introduction, occurred.

Not until 1668 did Europeans realize the real potential of Hudson Bay environs and then it was the French who instructed the other Europeans.

The French recognized the value of Indian aid and the recognition was picked up by some Englishmen on the Bay. Dene aided the Hudson's Bay Company to establish their forts on the coast and then in the middlemen roles extended the influence of the company inland. Through the efforts of Thanadelthur, Idotleaza and Matonabbee a Chipewyan trading empire came into existence. All this came to a close at the time of the death of Matonabbee and the capture of Fort Prince of Wales in 1782. A state of two autonomous cultures existed with both groups becoming influenced.

By that time the French pedlars had penetrated from the Saskatchewan to the Mackenzie River. Utilizing the "middleman" model, the North West Company was able to establish forts along the Mackenzie system. The fur trader thus required the services of the native. The native was an indispensable adjunct.

To get beyond the Bay and the Mackenzie River system and into the interior of the area marked by these boundaries, the Europeans required guides, hunters and interpreters. More and more, these services became recognized as indispensable until Rae adopted Indian and Inuit modes of dress, transport, housing and diet.

It took the sailor longer to recognize what fur trader and whaler had accepted. The searchers for the lost Franklin expedition sought in vain until they had Inuit advice. To transport over icy sea or land, native techniques were absolutely necessary. To reach King William Island, Inuit travel modes were required whether the expedition be sea or land mounted. The visitors had to find out about these modes before progress in finding the site of the tragedy could be located. In the race for the farthest north or the Pole, those that sought required aid, succour and knowledge of the Inuit.

In the non-material world of missionary endeavour, again native aid was an imperative. To maintain life and to work for his own defined objective, the missionary required the help of the Dene and the Inuit.

For most of the 880 years of recorded contact, acculturation was initiated by the "conjunction of two or more autonomous culture systems" as Berkhofer defined it, but the directed or forced acculturation towards the end of the Nineteenth Century was in the background and becoming ever more apparent. The Inuit followed the whaler and the latter made the decisions. The Dene became heavily involved with the fur trader and the chase of animals for furs determined the Dene activities. The missionaries had begun to make inroads in Dene thinking about spiritual matters. The period of maximum directed acculturation was about to begin in 1880.

Thus from a position of two solitudes, the Inuit and Dene and their visitors changed to a state of mutual dependence. The needs of the visitor required the presence of the native people. In turn, the native people sought out what the visitor possessed.

Some Related Themes

A number of themes emanate from the foregoing. They weave themselves through the fabric of the narrative of the contact period binding the individual episodes into an interrelated whole. The themes are overarching images — the images having recurred in each of the eras under discussion.

The Oral Tradition

The oral tradition played a part in each period of this study.

The Sagas recorded the exploits of the Norse. The Sagas are a form of oral tradition that has over time been written down. This could represent a step in the evolution in developing a history of a people. The Norse Sagas are, however, an example of a European oral tradition and related to this study only because the Skraeling played a role. If the Tunit of the Inuit oral tradition were the Norse as Oleson claimed, insufficient evidence is available to prove this point and further research to establish the relationship must be done. The fact that Oleson can make the claim gives hint that an Inuit oral tradition about the Norse comings and their trade and contact with the Inuit from 1000-1500 does exist and could, with further research, be studied.

From the era of Frobisher to Baffin (1576-1615), Hall found record of the lost Frobisher's five men in the Inuit oral tradition. The names of E-loud-ju-arng and Man-nu, who aided the five men to attempt to escape back to Europe, were told to Hall by Ookijoxy Ninoo.

In the third period of penetration of Hudson Bay and the establishment of forts on its margin (1619-1742), the oral tradition was again noted. Jérémie gave account of the Indian side of the 1619 stay of Jens in Novia Dania and Petitot recorded the Chipewyan and Slave account of Thanadelthur's meeting and exploits with the "Men of the Stone House" or the English at York Factory. The fire set by James in 1613 was remembered by the geographic name "Akimiski Island." The Dene had the oral tradition as well as the Inuit.

In the period of land guides, trade captains and river pilots (1742-1789), Matonabbee and Hearne recovered the story of the fate of the Knight expedition at Marble Island in 1719-21. Later, Beaulieu recounted to Petitot the arrival of the first white men on Great Slave Lake.

During the period of Franklin to Rae (1819-1846), Franklin, Richardson, Back, Simpson and Rae recounted occurrences of which the authors had been told by the Dene of the early history of their nations. The events of the Many Years War could be reconstructed illustrating the relationship among Cree, Slave, Yellowknive, Dogrib and Beaver.

In the section "Sailor and Whaler" (1818-1880), the sea approach was utilized and thus the Inuit were involved. While Parry and Lyon, the Rosses and others did not live with the Inuit, generally the sea expeditions did not have interpreters so the oral tradition got little attention.

During the Franklin search (1845-1859), and as time wore on, more attention became focused on the bystanders -- the Inuit. The key to discovery of the fate of Franklin became the interpreters. Finally, In-nook-poo-zhee-jook, in the words of Rae, "a walking history of the fate of Sir John Franklin's expedition," informed Rae. In-nook-poo-zhee-jook so impressed Rae that Rae, without viewing the scene, returned to England with the news. McClintock verified the truth of the Inuit report in his expedition of 1857-59. By 1859 Inuit report was actively sought, not always correctly interpreted but its validity had been proven.

Ebierbing and Tookoolito tutored Hall in the expeditions from 1860-1870. Ebierbing's grandmother, Ookijoxy Ninoo, provided the grist of the Frobisher story and Ebierbing described some of the mechanics of the oral tradition in that father told son of the occurrences and in such fashion were observation of events passed on from generation to generation. Ebierbing, with dramatic justice, was present when Schwatka's expedition (1878-80) vindicated again Inuit report, validated the accuracy of Inuit account and repaid the faith of Hall in Inuit veracity.

Rasmussen gives excellent testimony of the reliability of Inuit account. He denies that the "Eskimo can be made to say almost anything" and labels the statement as unwarranted accusation. Rasmussen claims that "if the particular reports of these expeditions [the Franklin] are turned up the ancient verbal traditions will be found to be in the best agreement with the books." Inuit report provided the information as to the fate, location and circumstances of the last Franklin expedition. The oral tradition again demonstrated its validity as true account of what happened to the Franklin expedition.[3]

The missionary in the period 1858 to 1880 had to study the native languages for the missionaries' own purposes. In so doing they discovered the myths, legends and oral traditions of both Inuit and Dene. Emile Petitot, though he sought through the riches of the oral literature for his own purpose, in parallel duplicated for the Dene what Hall had done for the Inuit and both gave insight into the oral literature of the native peoples.

That Hall and Petitot but mined the surface of the oral tradition and literature is an inescapable conclusion. Below the surface mining by more objective researchers who are thoroughly conversant with the language and world view of the native people is a practical necessity if a more accurate and representative history is to be constructed of northern Canada.

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[3] Knud Rasmussen, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Vol. VIII (Copenhagen: Glyden dalske, Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1931) or (Gibson, op. cit., p. 64).

The Language Theme

A second recurring theme running through this study concerns language. In southern climes, the European entered the country and the climate and terrain were such that they could act in European fashion but not so in the Arctic and Subarctic. Conditions were far removed from those in southern North America or Europe. To adjust required adaptability and survival techniques far different. In the Arctic there was no vast expanse of arable land and for over half the year the world was wrapped in ice according to European view. Agrarian outlooks were useless and philosophies based on such outlooks outmoded. Man had to have a different knowledge in order to exist. Man could learn that knowledge by experience but that took time. The only other avenue by which man could learn that knowledge was from people who had experience - the Inuit and the Dene. The means of communication was via language. English or French could not do because few native people ever became proficient in these languages. They usually did not have adequate opportunity. Sackheuse, Beaulieu, Hendrik, Eenoolooapik, Ebierbing and Tookoolito and fur trade and missionary informants had limited command of English or French. The other alternative was for Europeans to learn the language of the native people. Inuktitut had the greatest commonality but Stefansson recorded in his time the Europeans whom he considered to be fluent in Inuktitut and they were Jenness, Petersen and himself. Cree was a possible alternative and fur traders such as Radisson, Groseilliers, Pond, Fidler and Turnor, or missionaries such as Hunter and Faraud, had limited knowledge. The Dene languages were difficult for the Europeans. Many studied but few became proficient.

The special group of people who comprised the greatest number of

Inuit and Dene dramatis personae were the interpreters. They provided the key for both investigation and learning by the Europeans. A scan of the various periods discussed in this thesis reveals the interpreters' cardinal role.

During the Norse contact, no interpreters existed. Intuition and gesture were the only means of communication. The Norse colonies flourished and then failed but the Inuit colonies established in Greenland irratically flourished and exist to this day. The Europeans had no means other than experience by which they could learn to live in this different world.

In the Frobisher-Baffin period, again, there were no intermediaries -- two solitudes existed and occasionally one people met the other.

By the period of mainland penetration and establishment of European posts in Hudson Bay, the Europeans had attempted to kidnap Inuit not because they thought the native language was important but for the Inuit's circus value. The French, because of their experience in New France, knew sufficient Cree and knew the value of Indian language and knowledge. Radisson and Groseilliers fell into the hands of the English at a critical time. Cree became the lingua franca of the fur trade. Knight utilized Cree in 1715 with Thanadelthur. Thanadelthur brought back ten Chipewyan boys to become interpreters because they had knowledge of Cree and Chipewyan. Matonabbee spoke Cree and thus was invaluable to Hearne. Awgeenah spoke Cree and thus he could play his role. Moses Norton was part Cree himself but in the fur trade to the 1800's, the Cree language played a key role and Thanadelthur laid the foundation for direct contact between the English and the Dene.

In the seagoing voyages of the first half of the Nineteenth

Century, such individuals as Sackheuse and Eenoolooapik stand out. These were individuals who went to England, became marginally proficient in English and then were of value to the sailors.

Land expeditions of the same period were replete with individuals such as Junius, Augustus, Ooligbuck, William Ooligbuck, Beaulieu and Albert One-eye who acted as interpreters. But recruited on the spot informants were Akaitcho, Keskarrah, the Hook, Long Legs, Nabitabo and others.

One of the reasons why the Franklin expedition of 1845 got into difficulty in the first place was because Back and Simpson had not sought out native people. Further, the Franklin party could not extract itself from King William Island because it did not have interpreters. The search after 1845 did not succeed until Rae, with William Ooligbuck, chanced upon In-nook-poo-zhee-jook. Hall, McClintock and Schwatka merely validated Inuit report. Hall and Schwatka had the services of Ebierbing whereas McClintock utilized local personnel.

Of all the services rendered to European sailor, whaler, fur trader or missionary for good or ill consequence for the natives' future, the services of the interpreter were the most valuable. Only Carl Petersen, of all this group, was ever given European honours for services rendered and he was a Dane.

The Mapping Theme

The image of a great part of the northern North American map was first sketched by the Dene and the Inuit. John Spink and D. W. Moodie collected over fifty published Inuit maps.[3] Boas wrote:

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[3] John Spink and D. W. Moodie, "Inuit Maps from the Canadian Eastern Arctic," Inuit Land Usuage, op. cit., pp. 39-45.

> As their knowledge [Inuit] of all the directions is very detailed and they are skilled draftsmen they can draw very good charts. If a man intends to visit a country little known to him, he has a map drawn in the snow by some one well acquainted there and these maps are so good that every point can be recognized. Their way of drawing is first to mark some points the relative position of which are well known.[4]

Boas wrote of his 1883 trip but this claim would be extended to the Dene and to the Inuit of the western Arctic. The indigenous people used these maps among themselves and were generous in giving instruction to the visitors.

Maps were utilized by the Dene to illustrate to the visitors where certain geographic points of interest were situated. This was done at an earlier point in time than when Inuit maps were recorded. Radisson and Groseilliers came to London with fixed ideas about the approach to the fur trade through Hudson Bay yet it is likely that the two had never been to Hudson Bay before 1668 but they received their knowledge from Indian report before 1670. Jérémie knew of the Churchill River, Seal River and the Inland Sea or Lake Winnipeg. Thanadelthur undoubtedly used sketches to illustrate her knowledge of the interior country to James Knight. Idotleaza and Matonabbee's map (which is likely the first published Dene map) on deer skin was the one that Moses Norton utilized to convince the London Committee to allow Hearne to go on his expeditions. Pond's three maps could only have been made using information copied from Dene maps just as Mackenzie's map, and that of Hearne on the Barrens, included geographic sites far beyond the line of travel of the visitor. Alick and Charlot, Chipewyans, draw canoe routes from Lake Athabasca to Great Slave Lake in the time of Hearne and Turnor and Shew-dethe-da drew a map of Great Slave Lake for Turnor. Awgeenah interpreted a Dogrib map drawn in the sand for Mackenzie which allowed the man to visualize a waterway into Cook's Inlet and thus a waterway that could lead across North America in 1791. Beaulieu and Black Meat drew maps in the sand for Franklin. Camerade de Mandeville and Grand Jeune Man did the same for Back in 1833. Captain Beechey had a whole topographical map of the Alaska coast north of Bering Strait constructed for him.

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[4] Franz Boas, The Central Eskimo, op. cit., pp. 643-44.

Parry and Lyon had Ewerat, Iligliuk and Toolemak to chart all of the Melville Peninsula. Further, Tweroong charted Foxe Basin and the North shore of Hudson Bay while Tes-su-win drew a map of Foxe Channel. Parry was enabled to visualize the Fury and Hecla Straits -- entrance to the Akkoolee or the Polar Sea.

Tiriksui drew maps of Boothia for John Ross in 1835 as Oonalee drew maps for McClintock of King William Island in 1857. Eenoolooapik sketched for Penny as many Inuit did for the whalers.

Armou drew a map for Hall of the area from Lancaster Sound to Churchill. Nikjuar and Kooperneung drew maps of Frobisher Bay for Hall in 1862. Ninguarping drew the Kingaite side of Frobisher Bay in 1861 and Noodloo sketched Murray Maxwell Inlet and the west end of Frobisher Straits and the south shore of Hudson Strait. Oogooaloo drew the northern part of Hudson Bay and Oongerluk illustrated Admiralty Inlet. Hall directly sought for information through competent interpreters whereas other navigators came upon the maps almost by accident.

Not to European cartographers go the honours of first sketching the coasts and inland waters of Canada's north but the credit rests squarely on the shoulders of Inuit and Dene individuals who sketched the first visuals on sand, snow and paper.

How to Live in This Land

A fourth recurring theme appearing in the journals is the need of the European oriented visitors to learn survival techniques. The visitors had to learn to eat, travel, dress, shelter, hunt and even how to think. If the visitors did not learn these categories then they suffered the consequences. Unless the temperate climate European visitors compromised with the elements -- terrain and climate -- they could not survive. Over time, the Europeans did learn some of the requirements and as they did their existence became more bearable and their influence more powerful.

The Norse colonies in East and West Greenland disappeared. The first and longest lived colonies of the Europeans or the Norse faded and died because they could not adapt to changing circumstances. The Inuit colonies in Greenland continue to this day. The Norse visits to the Canadian Arctic archipelago continued for some time after 1000 A.D. and then ceased. The Inuit visits continued to the northernmost islands as the relics testify and which is recorded by the authors of the later journals.

Because the Norse were great hunters and understood sea hunting, they had an advantage in comparison with the late comers. Because they ate fresh provisions they had little problem with scurvy. Because the Norse were skilled seamen and did not venture inland, they did not bring problems on themselves by land journeys. Because they were essentially a northern people, experienced with ice, they tended to avoid it. The climate during their visit was different to that of the Little Ice Age which followed the mid-Fourteenth Century mark. The thinking of the Norse was somewhat akin to the Skraeling in that they lived off the sea and the sea coast land. The Norse attempted to live in the Arctic lands and were successful for a number of years until conditions became too much for them.

In the Frobisher-Baffin period, the Europeans kept to the sea and did not attempt to winter. Communications between the two sides were sporadic; each side tended to go their separate ways. The European did marvel at the skills of the natives and so they kidnapped them so that they could be studied in isolation.

Communications were not set up on any permanent basis with either Inuit or Dene until Radisson and Groseilliers convinced the English of the possibilities of the fur trade in Hudson Bay. The Cree stimulated this twosome to think in terms of the Hudson Bay approach. The Cree taught the first Englishmen how to live in the Bay but the three slave women of Knight, and especially Thanadelthur, played a great role in the instruction of Knight and his plans for trading with the interior northern peoples and his attempts to sail to Coppermine. Thanadelthur led Stuart to the very innards of the northern country and the Factors after Knight relied on Indian transport and knowledge of the country so much that it gave rise to Arthur Dobbs' charges of inaction on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company. During the period of 1619-1742, the resident Europeans recognized that the Indians remained masters of the land outside the fort and the factors were content to remain within their forts and allow the Indians to deal with life outside the forts.

The shift from Cree dominance began with Thanadelthur who titillated the Europeans with her knowledge of the interior lands but it was Wapasu, Idotleaza and Matonabbee that brought concrete evidence of the wealth of the interior country besides furs. Matonabbee, as head of all the northern Indians, brought Chipewyan trade to Churchill by La Perousse in 1782.

Then with easier routes in more similar climes in which Europeans could more easily adapt, the French, Cree, Ojibway, and pedlars extended their southern route to the base of the Deh cho or the Makenzie River system. Such individuals as Pond and Turnor had to struggle with the Chipewyan language. Individuals who had adopted the Dene way of life, such as Beaulieu, could teach the newcomers how to live or even transport and guide them. The successors of Matonabbee, in Rabbit's Head and Awgeenah, managed, facilitated, guided and provided for Mackenzie. Such native people helped both North West and Hudson's Bay Companys to establish their forts in the area. The European was still secure in his forts and along established routes but he depended entirely on the Dene when he went beyond the fort and especially when he ventured into new territory.

The voyageur and pedlar rode on Cree, Iroquois and Ojibway backs in the south. Cree as lingua franca extended into the Territories. Such individuals as Thanadelthur, Matonabbee, Idotleaza, Awgeenah and Rabbit's Head with their knowledge of both Cree and Athapaskan languages provided the bridge from English or French to the various Athapaskan peoples. The Cree forerunners and the voyageurs knew or had learned Indian techniques in their southern experience. The fur trader, by this time, recognized and accepted that when on the rivers and travelling, Indian methods were king. These southern Indian learned skills could be applied to parts of the interconnected Mackenzie River but to go beyond that the aid of the Dene was required.

By 1821, the fur trader had travelled little beyond the parameters of the Mackenzie. A new type of land mapper entered the scene -- the English navigator as exemplified in Franklin, Richardson and Back. They did not have Canadian experience but they did employ interpreters. Junius lost his life in the first Franklin expedition. Augustus, by the end of his career, had travelled from the Coppermine to Point Turnagain and from the Mackenzie mouth to Return Reef in Alaska along the Arctic coast. Augustus had crossed the Barrens, travelled the Churchill route twice, sailed the Mackenzie and visited the Coppermine River. He had hunted, advised, rescued, interpreted, nursed and facilitated the two Franklin expeditions and lost his life in attempting to join the Back expedition. In like manner, Ooligbuck had travelled from the Mackenzie River to the Coppermine with Richardson on the Second Franklin expedition and from Coppermine to the base of the Boothia Peninsula with Dease and Simpson as well as from Repulse Bay to the mouth of the Back River. Ooligbuck had served similar functions as Augustus. The services of these two, Augustus and Ooligbuck, are without parallel during the 1820's and 1830's.

George Simpson was aghast at the methods of travel utilized by Franklin and Back but so was Akaitcho. Back and Franklin accepted

Akaitcho's advice to a point. Akaitcho provided, guided and rescued various expeditions and he organized the northeastern end of Great Slave Lake fur trade and travel into the Barrens until the 1860's. Akaitcho overextended the efforts of the Yellowknives, lorded over the Dogrib and Slave until they revolted in the 1820's, but as a chief for longevity of rule he had few competitors with the exception of Awgeenah.

The fur trader accepted and recognized the power and authority of such leaders as Akaitcho and Edzo. The adopted much of the Dene life style. With the credit system, the direct and indirect employment of the Dene, the gathering of people about the forts, the continued barter for alcohol and the epidemics, the fur trader tended to decrease the independence of the Dene.

In the sea expeditions from 1819 to 1845, the Europeans tended to remain aboard their ships or near them. Ross employed Sackheuse but had short lived contact with the Arctic Highlanders. Parry and Lyon had friendly relations with the Winter Island and Igloolik Inuit in 1821-23 but they observed and did not participate in Inuit life. Ross required the Netsilik Inuit for supplies, transport and amusement. Again he relied on his own resources for interpreting. Penny recognized the value of Eenoolooapik in the 1840's. The whaler, like the fur trader, recognized the commercial value of utilizing Inuit services and skills. Eenoolooapik's advice to Penny netted the whalers $15,000,000 after Eenoolooapik showed Penny the new whaling fields in Cumberland Sound and the practice was carried over to northern Hudson Bay, probably on Inuit advice. The whaling there carried on until 1915 but during the 1860-80 period Inuit provided transport, clothes, provisions and medical aid to the whalers. The whalers provided the employment, guns and whaleboats.

Richardson utilized interpreters in the style of Franklin and Back. Pullen and Hooper had troubled experiences along the Arctic coast sans an interpreter. Bellot and Kennedy used Indian and Inuit methods of travel and food. The expeditions of Belcher and Austin found few clues to the whereabouts of Franklin. But a bevy of Inuit and Dene helped to teach Rae the tricks of survival and it was William Ooligbuck who extracted the information from the Inuit. But Rae's reliance on the country for provisions and his adoption of dog transport along with Inuit clothing and the igloo made him a premier traveller. McClintock and his parties, in like manner, adopted Inuit modes of surviving in the Arctic and were able to visit that inaccessible part of the Arctic -- King William Island.

Kane, Hayes and Hall lived with the Inuit. Kane became an almost Inuit during his stay near Etah. Hall depended entirely on Ebierbing and Tookoolito to gather food, provide clothing, transport, and for negotiation with new tribes. Hans Hendrik, Tookoolito and Ebierbing were the chief instructors of the expeditions that travelled into American Alley or the waterways separating Ellesmere from Greenland. Hendrik, Ebierbing and Tookoolito combined to provide the know-how for the survival of the Polaris party on the ice flow. Ebierbing accompanied Schwatka to King William Island to collect the details of the Franklin fate in 1880 just as Hendrik accompanied Nares to the "furthest north" achieved by any expedition to the 1880's. Of the nine people who reached the North Pole in 1909, seven of the nine were

Inuit and they provided the legs, stomach and dress for the expeditions of Peary and Cook.

The missionaries depended entirely on the Dene and Inuit for food, clothing, housing and transport. The missionary required instruction in the language and introduction to new people. As the missionary lived with the Inuit or Dene, they became more appreciative of Inuit and Dene thought and lifestyle as in the case of Bompas, Grollier, Seguin and Petitot but the missionary never penetrated the subtleties of the Inuit religion, philosophy or manner of thought.

Massive evidence in every era of northern history points to the necessity of Europeans adopting Dene and Inuit technology if they wanted to winter or survive in the north. That Inuit and Dene readily aided them if the visitors so desired is apparent. Because of the nature of the journal, it tended to emphasize the events of a particular expedition. If read singly, the contribution of the Inuit and Dene seem small but when the journals are read in tandem or in conjunction with others, the contributions are magnified and reinforced. For every European achievement in the north, there were Inuit or Dene supporters and helpers.

The Greenland Connection

A fifth theme runs through the eras from 1000 to 1880. The narrative began with the establishment of Norse colonies in Greenland and ends with the Greenlandic Inuit who helped to mark the waterways between Ellesmere and Greenland. In the intervening years, Greenland served as the base for whaler and sailor as they penetrated the inner reaches of

Arctic waterways. So too did Greenland provide interpreters such as John Sackheuse, Adam Beck, Erasmus York, Carl Petersen, Samuel Emmanuel, Antoine Christian and Hans Hendrik. To sheer off Greenland is to ignore a vital piece of northern North American history.

The Icelandic colonies existed for over three hundred years and the colonists roamed the Canadian archipelago for the same length of time. During this period the Dorset people invaded Greenland so there was much interchange.

Davis, Hall, Knight and Cunningham all visited the Greenlandic Inuit and reported on their ways. John Ross reported on his visit to the Arctic Highlanders and each of the Arctic seas expeditions thereafter called at Greenlandic ports for last provisioning or to pick up interpreters. Each of the journals after 1819 had a section which described their visits to Greenlandic ports. Even missionaries such as Warmow and Miertsching got their knowledge of Inuktitut from the Greenlandic Inuit or from the Danes who studied the Greenlanders. Richardson told how after he and Augustus had worked on an Inuit dictionary and then how that dictionary had been lost, that he used a Moravian developed dictionary. Because the Moravians had done much missionary work in Greenland after the 1750's, Moravian work in Inuktitut was available to Inuit meeting expeditions. The Admiralty phrase book of the Franklin search days was directly based on the work of the Greenland Moravians.

So, too, the authors of journals have the recurring theme of the Norse visits to the Arctic. Peary, Cook, Sverdrupt, Nansen, Stefansson, Nares and Rasmussen all return to this theme. Rasmussen, of all Arctic travellers, visited all of the Inuit groups, and constantly reiterated the connection between Greenland and Arctic Canada.

The Expedient Allies

Whenever the Europeans found themselves to be in competition with climate, terrain or other human groups, they embraced the closest Dene or Inuit allies and these people inevitably accepted the embrace. The total effect of the Inuit and Dene dramatis personae was that they complemented and added to and made possible any European intrusion. Using the European authors as a basis for evidence, one could come to no other conclusion. The authors cited those Inuit and Dene who aided them -- thus the total effect is that the majority of Inuit and Dene dramatis personae were willing partners in the intrusion.

By Norse account, the first hostile acts were perpetuated by the Norse. The Skraeling responded to hostile acts. Later Greenlandic sagas indicated that Norse and Inuit cooperated but these acts were interspersed with clashes. Frobisher and Davis made good opening gambits but friendship between the English and the Inuit turned to enmity in both cases. The hostilities between Hall, Knight, Cunningham, Hudson, Baffin and Button all indicated that the Inuit revenged remembered wrongs. To the time of Groseilliers, Jérémie, Radisson and Knight there was no record of friendly alliance but Indian advice was involved in the establishment of Hudson's Bay Company posts in the Bay. The Cree tended to ally themselves with the French but the "Home" Indians of Knight and Moses Norton were the Cree. Cree from 1715 to 1770 and beyond was the de facto language of communication between the traders and the Dene. Even when the fur trade focus switched to the west, Cree remained the lingua franca of the fur trade. The Cree acted as the allies first to the French and then to the English on Hudson Bay.

The pedlars of the North West Company sought out powerful leaders such as Awgeenah and the Beaulieus just as the Hudson's Bay Company had allied themselves with Thanadelthur, Idotleaza and Matonabbee. When the North West Company thrust in the Mackenzie began to wane, this was caused by alcohol trading and the capture of Dene women by that Company and this was offensive to the Dene. After the union in 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company courted the trade chiefs who were the most influential people in the bands.

Franklin and Back sought out Akaitcho as an ally. Along with Akaitcho came Long Legs, the Hook, Keskarrah and Greenstockings. Back's men gained the enmity of the Inuit at the mouth of the Thleweechoh while Rae curried the favour of the Repulse Bay Inuit.

Parry and Lyon found fast friends in the Winter Island and Igloolik Inuit and Ross had good feelings about the Netsilik. Penny found it advantageous to ally himself with Eenoolooapik and the whalers of Hudson Bay had fast friends in the Inuit who lived in the region from Marble Inlet to Lyon Inlet and the Hudson Strait.

The searchers after the fate of the Franklin crew had little luck in finding clues as to the fate of these men until Rae consulted with the Inuit and then he got an account of that fate.

Kane had intimate relationships with the village of Etah as had Kane and the Polaris expedition. Etah became a common stopping place for all the expeditions that were later to travel the American Alley.

In the competitions by the missionaries, the Roman Catholics allied themselves with Chipewyan through the Beaulieus, the Hare of Fort Good Hope, and the Kutchin of Arctic Red River. The Anglicans were aided by the Kutchin of Fort McPherson and with this site as base, the Anglicans could vault into favour with the coastal Inuit.

A Friendly Reception

Only friends and few foes appeared among the Dene and Inuit *dramatis personae*. The Skraeling could be no other than foes to the Norse -- the Norse allowed them no other role. The Elizabethans acted in a similar vein. The fur traders were encouraged by the Dene to site their forts on the Bay coast. The Inuit tended to avoid the Europeans after their first initial contacts. Only friendly Chipewyans led the Hudson's Bay Company officers across the Barrens to the 1780's except perhaps for such as Conne-e-quese or Chawchinahaw. The early fur traders were accorded hearty welcome though later the Dene objected to the credit system, the imprisoning of Dene women and the use of alcohol in trade. True, Livingstone was killed in 1799 and the Shakes threatened Robert Campbell. The Inuit of the Mackenzie caused some difficulty to Franklin, Richardson, Pullen and Hooper but with proper explanation by interpreter, there was little violent opposition. Back's men fired on the Inuit at the mouth of the Back River. The Crozier party, as it crossed the straits from King William Island to the mainland, were offered no hostilities but were given little help, probably because of the lack of interpreters.

The Dene entered into the rivalry of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company to 1821. So, too, did they take sides in later religious competitions between the Anglicans and Catholics.

The only recorded killings of white men according to writers of the journals took place early in the 1700's; otherwise, the entry into northern North America was lacking in hostility. John Knight and three of his men lost their lives in Labrador in 1606. James Hall was killed in 1619 by an Inuit when the latter recognized Hall as the captor of an

Inuit relative. Four of the mutineers of Hudson in 1610-11 lost their lives by Inuit hand at Digges Island. All these hostilities are few in comparison to the rescues performed by the Inuit and Dene. Threatening situations did arise as in the incident in which Bompas and Shapataituk were involved or when Petitot had to leave Anderson River in 1865.

In comparison to the situation described in Jaenen's Friend or Foe, only the "friend" is a propos in the most northern situation.

And Few Visitors Remained

A portion of the other Europeans who had come to the Americas had remained to form colonies which prospered and grew. Colonies had been established in northern North America but these colonies were different in nature and function.

The Norse period came closest to the usual model of European American based colonies. The Danish colonies established after 1750 had little connection with America except to serve as bases for European expeditions. The Norse colonies of c1000 endured for three hundred years and then disappeared. The Inuit colonies in Greenland, however, remained. When Sarqaq disappeared, another version of Inuit ancestors, the Dorset, appeared then the Thule and now the modern Inuit.

The Elizabethan sailors came but they did not winter. No one group remained in the north until Hudson, Munk, Baffin and James wintered. All endured terrible hardships so the experiment was never repeated by the same man. Even in the time of Radisson, Europeans were reluctant to winter. Jérémie remained for thirteen years and Knight for a few more. Richard Norton spent some time in the Bay -- long enough to raise a family and son, Moses, and die at Churchill. After Hearne there were increasing numbers that remained longer in northern Canada but all who could returned home to recuperate or die.

The fur traders of the interior remained for a productive portion of their lives but each in turn retired to sunnier climes. Only leaders such as Simpson, Franklin, Hood and Hall died in the north because of circumstances. No white man died there in preference to other places except perhaps Grollier and Bompas.

Jaenen's Images

Cornelius Jaenen considered the Indian and French attitudes towards each other in the French Amerindian cultural contact during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. While contact between Europeans and Inuit in northern North America presage those of the French by five hundred years, there was little reported contact that could be comparable to that studied by Jaenen in New France and Acadia. Rather, such individuals as Radisson, Groseilliėrs and Jérémie were individuals who appeared in the northern story near the end of the Seventeenth Century and that was the beginning of intimate relations between the natives of Hudson Bay and the Europeans in the northern story. Early in the Eighteenth Century such English as Knight, Kelsey and Norton had taken a page from French attitudes to the Indians. The English in this case had excellent teachers in Radisson and Groseilliers.

The taiga, tundra and sea coast of northernmost North America were different in climate and terrain from other lands that had been colonized by the European powers in America. No European willingly remained in the vast region for long time periods. There was not the intimate contact or the numbers of contacts that existed elsewhere in the Americas.

As long as men could remain on the ships or be a summer visitor he could have disdain for the "wretched natives." Once the European began to winter and to reside, the visitor joined the "wretched." As the European lived side by side with the native, the former began to realize that the Dene or Inuit was not really "wretched" as he had been previously defined, but had prosperity and plenty and comfort. The disdain that the authors earlier described very often turned to admiration of a people who could and did enjoy their surroundings. Hearne, Franklin, Kane and Hall recognized the joys of peoples living in what other Europeans would term wretchedness. The great majority of the visitors, however, could see wretchedness of physical living and hopelessness for the spirit. The authors generally agreed that all this "wretchedness" might be changed by giving models of civilization. To the authors it was a simple matter of demonstrating the model and adding the Christian Gospel.

Even though the English predominated among the visitors to the area of the Northwest Territories, there was little to distinguish the English from other European visitors. Even the Americans and Scandinavians fitted the European model of values. Not many of these European oriented and value laden visitors had the opportunity to realize the worth of the Inuit and Dene world view. The visitors were hampered by the lack of communication via the language plus the fact that many of them never experienced a long enough time in contact with the Inuit and Dene.

Thomas Berger labels the dilemma in his report, Northern Frontier: Northern Homeland. The outsider considers the north as a forbidding frontier; the Inuit and the Dene think of it as the best of all homelands.

Berger maintains that even in 1977 the "Euro-Canadian society has refused to take the native culture seriously"[5] and that "their [Inuit and Dene] knowledge of the land and its life constitute distinctive ethno-scientific traditions."[6] What is true of 1977 reechoed in the journals of expeditions to the Northwest Territories' area to 1880.

Utility of the Images

Each of the journal authors provided images of the Inuit and Dene dramatis personae with added general images of groups that the expedition met. When these images have added to them the comments of other authors of later expeditions which often contain evidence of the oral tradition, then a corrected image can be gained. The resulting images are closer to "the true image of what men is, what he once was." There were elements of truth in the images evoked by the authors just as the images possessed bias and prejudice. The elements of truth if isolated and combined do give part of the story of the Inuit and Dene.

Each of the themes discussed in this chapter are in reality generalized images that came out of the individual author's images and the corrected images. The image of peoples with an effective oral tradition, how language entered into the image, of people with effective mapping and life skills, that were closely tied to Greenland events and even of peoples that remained and prospered when the visitors could not, recurred throughout each section of the contact period.

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[5] Berger, op. cit., p. xviii.

[6] Ibid., p. 7.

These products are only a part of the history of the peoples of the Northwest Territories. When added to the exploits of the visitor and augmented by crucial Inuit and Dene research into their oral tradition, then a synthesis can begin and a new history can be written.

The product provides teachers with ammunition for curriculum content. It may stimulate researchers to go beyond the limits herein essayed.

Implications for Curriculum

One of the deficiencies of an approach such as used in this study is that the expedition was always instigated and organized by the European. The Inuit and the Dene are visited: they react to the European intrusion. Inuit and Dene are forced into the European mould. The former appear not to have volition of their own: they are always reacting. This has a tendency to give a wrong impression. The Inuit and Dene reacted to the fur trader, the whaler, the geographer and the missionary for reasons apparent to the native people. These reasons were different than the Europeans attributed. The Inuit and Dene heard other drums with different beats. Knight sought yellow gold: Thanadelthur saw benefits to the Chipewyan. Franklin envisaged a Northwest Passage: Akaitcho imagined relief from poverty and wealth from trade. The journals allow a picture of the actual encounters between people. This study concentrates on the native people involved. It suggests that students be led to look at the newcomers from North American native eyes. The images presented concentrate on the native side of the equation, albeit that the facts are selected by the journal writers. The study identifies the individuals visited and cites the evidence as given by the journal authors. Given such information, a student can see the flawed report and identify the stereotype. To be sure, the student does not do this automatically but if materials are suitably arranged by the teacher and discussion allowed, the student will see flaw and stereotype. It is the process of critically examining an account of a transaction that is important for curriculum. Each author has a frame of reference. The student must read the historian before he reads the work of that historian.

It is not sufficient, either, to substitute Dene or Inuit heroines or heroes in the place of the "explorer," nor to denigrate gallant and courageous visitors, nor to replace stereotypes with more positive ones. It is not enough to stress the contribution of Inuit and Dene to world knowledge or to explain all differences by cultural relativity.

By flushing out the Dene and Inuit dramatis personae, the other side of the ledger becomes more real and human. The harmful stereotypes are less likely to happen. The examination of the Northern past comes closer to the truth.

Because such few people occupied such a vast land, these people and their descendants are likely to be related to every expedition that visited their particular area. The "oral tradition" recorded the transactions so therefore native people thought the transactions to be important. There is still time to get these impressions via the "oral tradition" from native people themselves. History requires all the evidence and northern students have great opportunity to retrieve and interpret the treasury of the "oral tradition." Knowing the mother tongue, listening to the elders tell the traditional stories and then revealing for the knowledge of all human kind gives point to knowing the mother tongue. All humans benefit if the truth is approximated. Perhaps, the native northerner is more closely related to history than is any other Canadian. Relevance, interest and utility to the northern child are provided for in consideration of topics such as this study suggests.

Because the "oral tradition" is built into the language and culture, and the child brings this to school, the child has something to offer. He is an authority or at least possesses some of the tools by which the authority may be reached. This authority or tool becomes a bridge. If the teacher demonstrates interest, even partial knowledge, then the child and teacher are brought into communion.

For non-native children, the evidence of the journals speaks for itself. All are in the business of image formation -- conceptualization is another term. How to utilize the image for economy of thought is a pressing need. In one instance the image can be a model or analogue: in another it can be a dangerous stereotype. The expeditions and the journals provide content for the formation of analogues.

The fact that the northern child is so close to the history gives the study of history added importance in the north. The native concept of closeness to the land, which has been eloquently stated by both the Dene Nation and the Inuit Taparisit, is part of the stuff of history -- part of the content of this study. Therefore, this content should prove useful to the teacher in northern schools. Since there is yet more to be learned about the history of the north, the classroom stands almost on the cutting edge of historical research. Elders and students can cooperate in this research. The teacher becomes the ally and the facilitator rather than the provider of knowledge.

Francis Fitzgerald critiques the textbooks and curriculum plans for Social Studies in the 1950's, 60's and 70's. Fitzgerald criticizes these materials in that they show strong tendency to present the world as an ideal construct, as lacking in child psychology in their presentation, as demonstrating a lack of respect for history, and for the non possession of academic rigour.[7]

Such content as presented in this study examines the world as it was reported. The focus is on real people and a version of happenings which has been too often disregarded. The child is involved because he lives in the historic present -- his present situation is a product of what happened before. Therefore he is likely to find motivation for learning. The narrative line is present which will whet his curiosity. The respect for history is built into the materials. Academic rigour is enjoined in that a full and representative account is demanded.

This collation and interpretation of images becomes, then, only a beginning with the teacher. The teacher of Coral Harbour begins with the story of Lyon and Neakeedloo; he of Frobisher Bay tells of Ookijoxy Ninoo, or she of Repulse Bay talks of Iligliuk. The student gets insight into the world of the Dene and the Inuit and what they were doing when the "explorer" interrupted their life.

There are 321 stories to tell. One story begets another and so the unit of instruction begins. Language, geography, northern science, technology can all be introduced into purview. The story is a cross cultural technique and a natural beginning. It demonstrates the teacher's interest just as it invites the interest of the receiver. Such units of instruction hold promise of spurring community history projects and these in turn will aid the historian.

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[7] Frances Fitzgerald, America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century (Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), p. 218.

Further Research

Obviously, the native version of northern history is required. Only one who knows the languages and who has lived in the cultures can do this kind of research. Perhaps there can never be a synthesis of the two histories -- that of the academician and that resulting from the "oral tradition." Still the effort could be made.

There is need for further research in fur trade, geographical and church archives. Such problems as how Awgeenah and Akaitcho met their ends and when is a fascinating problem which this study does not answer. Biographies of such individuals as Matonabbee, Akaitcho, Ebierbing, Hans Hendrik, Ookyjoxy Ninoo, and Eenoolooapil beg creation.

Native historical forms, native oral testimony and the oral tradition require study and exposition. This type of research requires researchers who know the native language and culture. If rank amateurs such as the journal writers considered in this study recognize the value of the three items mentioned above, then it is imperative that researchers with the proper qualifications (knowledge of language and culture) investigate.

Alfred G. Bailey quotes a reviewer of one of his ethnohistorical works as saying "as Algonkian ethnohistory is still so much a vale of ignorance that vision of any sort is a rare thing, one-eyed men are counted kings, and books like this must rank as classics." There is, as the reviewer says, great need for ethnohistorical studies especially in the Amerindian and Inuit fields.[8]

Margaret Prang, in her presidential address to the Canadian Historical Association in 1977, pleads for regional studies by historians and quotes John Newlove's words:

> the knowledge of
> our origins, and where
> we are in truth,
> whose land this is
> and is to be.

Prang further states that, "Our capacity to comprehend and feel these regional identities provides firm ground for the hope that we are creating a nation which can continue to be home for all of us."[9]

Other regions in Canada need research. Western Canada, Northern Saskatchewan, the Yukon and British Columbia are fertile fields for a similar approach. History in these North American regions does not begin with the coming of the European but their coming does provide a lens with which to examine what was happening at the time in the Americas. Teachers in each of these regions require help with background materials so that they can organize curriculum projects.

Further, 1880 is not a magical date in the Northwest Territories. The expeditions from 1880 to 1920 and thereafter are worthy subjects of investigation.

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[8] Alfred G. Bailey, "Retrospective Thoughts of an Ethnohistorian," Historical Papers 1977 (The Canadian Historical Association, 1977), p. 23.

[9] Margaret Prang, "National Unity and the Ues of History," Historical Papers 1977 (The Canadian Historical Association, 1977), p. 9.

The Images

A number of themes or generalized images move through the preceding narrative and have been outlined in this chapter. Incidents are connected to these generalized images and reinforce them in almost every era. These themes or generalized images add up to something like the generalized statement attributed to Rasmussen, but with the patronizing subtracted, that:

> The Eskimo is the hero of this book. Their culture is a witness in itself to the strength and endurance and wild beauty of human life . . . The Eskimos intimately studied are much more spiritually minded, much more intelligent, much more likeable than the average man has been led to expect. They prove to be human beings just like ourselves - so like, indeed, that we cannot avoid drawing them into the fold and saying, "These people belong to our race."[10]

The Rasmussen statement in changed format, and in keeping with this thesis, would read that the Inuit and Dene were the heroes of this thesis. Their cultures are a witness to the richness and variety of human life. Through all the expeditions, even though the images are presented by the European oriented visitors, the Inuit and Dene reflect a spirituality, generosity, cooperativeness, knowledge and humanity which their fellow Canadians could well ponder and know. The exploits of the Inuit and Dene to the 1880's added much to the history of the Northwest Territories, Canada and the world. These people belong to all humanity.

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[10] Rasky, II, op. cit., p. 382.

APPENDIX A

List of Expeditions and Related Journals: c1000-1880

List of Expeditions and Related Journals: 1880-1925

List of Expeditions and Related Journals: c1000-1880

Key: 1, 2, 3, . . . arabic numbers for the expedition
(1), (2), (3), . . . for related journals

1. "Discovery" of Baffin Island by Eirik Thorvaldson in 982.

(1) Magnuson, Magnus; and Palsson, Herman. The Vineland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America. Graenlendings and Eirik's Saga. New York: University Press, 1966.

2. "Discovery of America" by Bjarni Herjulfsson in c1000.

3. Vinland Voyage by Leif Eirickson in c1000.

4. Vinland Voyage by Thorfinn Thorardson in c1000.

5. Vinland Voyage by Freydis, Helgi and Finnbogi in c1000.

6. First Frobisher Expedition in 1576.

(2) Collinson, Richard. The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, in Search of a Passage to Cathaia and India by the North-west, A.D. 1576-78. Reprinted from the first edition of Hakluyt's Voyages, with selections from manuscript documents in the British Museum and State Paper's Office. London: Hakluyt Society, 1867. (First Series, No. 38, Reprinted by Burt Franklin, New York, n.d.)

7. Second Frobisher Expedition in 1577.

8. Third Frobisher Expedition, 1578, to Baffin.

9. First Voyage, John Davis, 1585.

(3) Markham, Albert Hastings, ed. The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator. London: Hakluyt Society, 1880. (Works issued by Hakluyt, First Series, No. 59.)

10. Second Voyage, John Davis, 1586.

11. Third Voyage, John Davis, 1587.

12. Penetration of Hudson Bay by Henry Hudson, 1610-11.

(4) Asher, G. N. Henry Hudson the Navigator. The Original Documents in Which His Career is Recorded, Collected and Partly Translated With an Introduction. London: Hakluyt Society, 1860. (Works issued by Hakluyt Society, First Series, No. 27, n.d.)

13. Thomas Button and Hudson Bay, 1612-13.

14. Bylot and Baffin in Hudson Bay, 1615.

(5) Markham, Clement Robert, ed. The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612-22. London: Hakluyt Society, 1881. (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, First Series, No. 63.)

15. Second Bylot and Baffin Voyage, 1616.

16. Jens Munk Winters at Churchill, 1619-20.

(6) Gosch, C. G. A., ed. Danish Arctic Expeditions, 1605 to 1620 in Two Books . . . Vol. II. The Expedition of Captain Jens Munk to Hudson Bay in Search of a North-west Passage in 1619-20. London: Hakluyt Society, 1897. (Works issued by Hakluyt Society, First Series, No. 97.)

17. Luke Foxe Enters Hudson Bay, 1631.

(7) Foxe, Luke. North-west Fox, or, Fox From the North-west Passage. London: B. Alsop and Tho. Fawcett, 1635. (Reprinted by S. R. Publishers Ltd. and Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965.)

18. Thomas James winters in the Bay, 1631-32.

(8) Christy, Miller, ed. The Voyage of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull, and Captain Thomas James of Bristol, in Search of a North-west Passage in 1631-32. 2 Vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1894. (Works issued by Hakluyt Society, 1894, First Series, Nos. 88, 89.)

19. The first expedition after the issue of the Hudson's Bay Company Charter by Gillam, Groseilliers, Bayly and Pierre Radisson, 1670-71.

(9) Nute, Grace Lee. Caesars of the Wilderness. Medard Chouart, Sieur de Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618-1670. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943.

20. Hudson's Bay Company Overland Expedition with William Stewart, 1715-16.

(10) Kenney, G. I., ed. The Founding of Churchill, Being the Journal of Captain James Knight, Governor in Chief in Hudson Bay, from the 14th of July to the 13th of September, 1717. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1932.

21. Second Founding of Churchill with Knight and Richard Norton, 1717.

22. Knight leads an expedition to further trade, north of Churchill, 1719-21.

23. The last Hudson's Bay Expedition northward until 1737 under John Scroggs and Richard Norton, 1721-22.

(11) Davies, K. G., ed. Letters from Hudson Bay, 1703-04. Edited by K. G. Davies, assisted by A. M. Johnson with an introduction by Glyndwr Williams. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963.

24. British Admiralty probe along the west coast of Hudson Bay, at the suggestion of Arthur Dobbs, under Christopher Middleton, 1741-42.

(12) Rich, Edwin Ernest, ed. James Isham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1743, and Notes and Observations on a Book Entitled "A Voyage to Hudsons Bay" in the Dobbs Gallery, 1749. Toronto: Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1949.

25. British North-west Passage expedition - a private venture to re-examine Wager Bay, 1746-47.

(13) Swaine, Charles. An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage by Hudson's Steights, to the Western and Southern Ocean of America, Performed in the Year 1746 to 1747 in the Ship California, Captain Francis Smith, Commander. By the clerk of the California. (Reprinted by S. R. Publishers Ltd. and Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968.)

(14) Ellis, Henry. A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the "Dobbs Gallery" and "California" in the Years 1746 and 1747, for Discovering a North-west Passage, with an Accurate Survey of the Coast and a Short Natural History of the Country. London: Whitridge, 1948.

(15) Eavenson, Howard N. Map Maker and Indian Trader, An Account of John Patten . . . Charles Swaine . . . Theodore Swaine Drage. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949.

26. Samuel Hearne's first expedition to Coppermine, 1769.

(16) Hearne, Samuel. A Journey from Wales' Fort in Hudsons Bay to the Northern Ocean, 1769-1772. Edited by Richard Glover. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1958.

27. Samuel Hearne's second expedition to the Coppermine, 1770.

28. Hearne's third and successful attempt to reach the Coppermine, 1770-1772.

29. Hearne establishes Cumberland House and attempts to compete with the pedlars from Montreal, 1774.

(17) Tyrrell, J. B. ed. Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1911.

30. Montreal Pedlars, under Peter Pond, extend their invasion of the fur country by establishing Fort Chipewyan, 1778-1780:

(18) Innis, Harold Adams. Peter Pond, Fur Trader and Adventurer. Toronto: Irwin and Gordon, 1930.

31. Mackenzie canoes from Athabasca to the Arctic Ocean via the Mackenzie River, 1789.

(19) Henry, Alexander. Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776. Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1969.

(20) Mackenzie, Alexander. Voyages from Montreal Through the Continent to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in 1789 and 1793. London, 1801.

32. British Naval North-west Passage expedition under Sir John Ross in 1818.

(21) Ross, John. A Voyage of Discovery Made Under the Orders of the Admiralty, in His Majesty's Ships Isabella and Alexander, for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin's Bay, and Inquiring Into the Probability of a North-west Passage. London: John Murray, 1819.

33. British Naval North-west Passage expedition under William Parry, 1819-20.

(22) Parry, William Edward. Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Performed in the Years 1819-20, in His Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper. London: John Murray, 1821.

(23) Fisher, Alexander. Journal of a Voyage of Discovery in the Arctic Regions in His Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper, in the Years 1819 and 1820. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821.

(24) Anonymous. Letters Written During the Late Voyage of Discovery in the Western Arctic Sea by an Officer of the Expedition. London: Sir Richard Phillip and Co., 1821.

34. British Admiralty overland expedition by John Franklin in 1819-22.

(25) Franklin, John. Journey to the Polar Sea, 1819-22. 2nd ed. London: John Murray, 1824.

(26) Houston, C. Stuart, ed. To the Arctic by Canoe. The Journal and Paintings of Robert Hood: Midshipman with Franklin. Montreal: The Arctic Institute of North America, 1974.

35. William Parry and George Lyon command an expedition that winters for two years at Winter Harbour and Igloolik, 1821-23.

(27) Parry, William Edward. *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Performed in the Years 1821-22-23, Under the Orders of Captain William Edward Parry*. London: John Murray, 1824.

(28) Lyon, George Francis. *The Private Journal of Captain G. F. Lyon, of H.M.S. Hecla, During the Recent Voyage of Discovery Under Captain Parry*. London: John Murray, 1824.

36. *British naval expedition under G. F. Lyon attempts to reach Repulse Bay, 1824*.

(29) Lyon, George Francis. *A Brief Narrative of an Unsuccessful Attempt to Reach Repulse Bay*. London: John Murray, 1825.

(30) Paton, John. *A Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Polar Regions in the Year 1824, in His Majesty's Ship Griper, G. F. Lyon, Captain*. Paisley: Printed for the author by J. Fraser, 1835.

37. *John Franklin makes a second expedition to chart the area between Alaska's Icy Cape and Coppermine, 1825-27*.

(31) Franklin, John. *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1825, 26 and 27*. London: John Murray, 1828.

38. *British North-west Passage expeditions under John and James Ross to Boothia, 1829-33*.

(32) Ross, Sir John. *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of North-west Passage, and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions During the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833*. London: A. W. Webster, 1835.

(33) Huish, Robert. *The Last Voyage of Captain Sir John Ross, R.N., to the Arctic Regions; for the Discovery of a North-west Passage; Performed in the Years 1829-30-31-32 and 33*. London: John Saunders, 1835.

39. *British Overland expedition to the mouth of the Great Fish River under command of Captain George Back, 1833-35.*

(34) Back, George. *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River*. London: John Murray, 1836.

(35) King, Richard. *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Arctic Ocean in 1833, 1834 and 1835, Under the Command of Captain Back, R.N.* 2 Vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1836.

40. *Thomas Simpson and Peter Warren Dease chart coast between Point Barrow and Return Reef in the west and also from Point Turnagain to Castor and Pollux Bay, 1837-39*.

(36) Simpson, Thomas. Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America; Effected by the Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company During the Years 1837-39. Toronto: Canadiana House, 1970.

41. William Penny on a whaling expedition was to search for Tenudiakbeek with the aid of Eenoolooapik, 1840.

(37) McDonald, Alexander. A Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik, a Young Esquimaux, Who Was Brought to Britain in 1839, in the Ship "Neptune" of Aberdeen: An Account of the Discovery of Hogarth Sound. Edinburgh: Fraser and Co., 1841.

42. Franklin's third expedition becomes lost and the search for it focuses world attention on Northern Canada, 1845-48.

(38) Cyriax, Richard J. Sir John Franklin's Last Expedition: A Chapter in the History of the Royal Navy. London: Methuen, 1939.

43. John Rae charts the region of Arctic Coast between Fury and Hecla Straits and Castor and Pollux Bay, 1846-47.

(39) Rae, Dr. John. Narrative of an Expedition to the Shores of the Arctic Sea. London: John Murray, 1856.

44. Richardson and Rae are sent overland in the search for Franklin, 1847-49.

(40) Richardson, Sir John. Arctic Searching Expedition: A Journal of a Boat Passage Through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships Under Command of Sir John Franklin. With an Appendix on the Physical Geography of North America. 2 Vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851.

45. British naval Franklin search from Behring Strait under Moorse, 1848-72.

(41) Seemann, Berthold. Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Herald During the Years 1845-51, Under the Command of Captain Henry Kellett, R.N.C.B., Being a Circumnavigation of the Globe, and Three Cruises to the Arctic Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin. 2 Vols. London: Reeve and Co., 1853.

46. British naval search expedition from Behring Strait, 1849-1851.

(42) Hooper, William Hulme. Ten Months Among the Tents of the Tuski, With Incidents of an Arctic Boat Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, as far as Mackenzie River and Cape Bathurst. London: John Murray, 1853.

47. Captain Parker brings back news that Franklin and his men have been seen alive, 1849.

(43) Goodsir, Robert Anstruther. An Arctic Voyage to Baffin's Bay and Lancaster Sound, in Search of Friends With Sir John Franklin. London: John Van Voorst, 1850.

48. Forsyth and Snow bring back news of Franklin's winter quarters at Beechey Island, 1850.

(44) Snow, William Parker. Voyage of the Prince Albert in Search of Sir John Franklin: A Narrative of Everyday Life in the Arctic Seas. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1951.

49. British naval Franklin search ships winter at Griffith Island and make intensive sledge searches, 1850-51.

(45) Osborn, Sherard. Stray Leaves From an Arctic Journal. London: Longmans, 1852.

50. John Rae, based on Great Bear Lake, seeks Franklin along Victoria Island coast, 1850-51.

(46) Rae, John. "Journey from Great Bear Lake to Wollaston Sound." Royal Geographical Society Journal 22 (1852): 73-82.

(47) Rae, John. "Recent Explorations Along the South and East Coast of Victoria Island." Royal Geographical Society Journal 22 (1852): 82-96.

51. Robert McClure sails part, walks part of a Northwest Passage, 1850-54.

(48) McClure, Robert John Le Mesurier. The North-west Passage Captain M'Clure's Dispatches from Her Majesty's Discovery Ship, "Investigator," Off Point Warren and Cape Bathurst. London: John Betts, 1853.

(49) Osborn, Sherard. The Discovery of the North-west Passage by H.M.S. "Investigator," Captain R. M'Clure, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854. Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969.

(50) Armstrong, Alexander. A Personal Narrative of the Discovery of the Northwest Passage; With Numerous Incidents of Travel and Adventure During Nearly Five Years' Continuous Service in the Arctic Regions While in Search of the Expedition Under Sir John Franklin. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857.

52. Richard Collinson barely misses sailing through a Northwest Passage from West to East, 1850-55.

(51) Collinson, Richard. Journal of H.M.S. Enterprise on the Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin's Ships by Behring Strait, 1850-55. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1889.

53. Lady Franklin sponsored Rene Bellot and William Kennedy in 1851-52.

(52) Kennedy, William. *A Short Narrative of the Second Voyage of the Prince Albert in Search of Sir John Franklin*. London: W. H. Dalton, 1853.

(53) Bellot, Joseph Rene. *Memoirs of Lieutenant Joseph Rene Bellot*. London: Hurst and Blachett, 1855.

54. *Rae brings back conclusive evidence of what happened to the men of the Franklin ships, 1853-54.*

(54) Rae, John. "Arctic Explorations Along the South and East Coast of Victoria Land." *Royal Geographical Society Journal* 25 (1855): 246-56.

55. *The Second Grinnell expedition under Captain Kane of the United States goes beyond Smith Sound and into the Kane Basin, 1853-55.*

(55) Kane, Elisha Kent. *Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, 1853, 54, 55*. 2 Vols. Philadelphia: Childs and Peterson, 1856.

(56) Hendrick, Hans Christian. *Memoir of Hans Hendrick, the Arctic Traveller*. Translated from the Eskimo language by Dr. Henry Rink. Edited by Dr. George Stevens. London: Trubner, 1878.

56. *William Penny combines whaling endeavours and getting a Moravian missionary into Cumberland Sound, 1857-58.*

(57) Warmau, Matheas. "Extracts From Brother M. Warmau's Journal of His Residence in Cumberland Inlet, During the Winter of 1857-58." *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen*, Vol. 23, 1858-60, no. 242, March, 1859, pp. 87-92.

57. *McClintock hears how "they fell down and died as they walked along" from the Inuit of King William Island, 1857-59.*

(58) McClintock, Francis Leopold. *The Voyage of the Fox in Arctic Seas. A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and His Companions*. London: John Murray, 1859.

(59) Young, Allen William. *The Search for Sir John Franklin. From the Journal of Allen Young*. London and Portsmouth: J. Griffin and Company, 1875.

58. *Father Henry Grollier travels the Mackenzie to establish Roman Catholic Missions, 1858-63.*

(60) Carriere, Gaston, O.M.I. "The Oblates and the Northwest: 1845-61." *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions*, 1970, pp. 35-66.

(61) Breton, P. E. Irish Hermit of the Arctic. The Life of Brother J. Patrick Kearney, O.M.I. Translated by J. S. Mullaney. Edmonton: Editions de l'Ermitage, 1963.

59. Rev. James Hunter of the Anglican Church prepares the way for William Kirkby, 1858-59.

(62) Bompas, William Carpenter. Diocese of Mackenzie River. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1888.

60. Qitdlarssuaq travels from south Baffin to Greenland, 1856-c1864.

(63) Rasmussen, Knud. The People of the Polar North: A Record. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1908, pp. 23-36.

61. Anglican William West Kirkby travels to Fort Simpson and other points in the Mackenzie and Yukon, 1859-68.

62. United States North Polar Expedition commanded by Isaac Hayes visits Smith Sound and explores the coast of Ellesmere, 1860-61.

(64) Hayes, Isaac Israel. The Open Polar Sea: A Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery Towards the North Pole, in the Schooner "United States." London: Samson Low, Son and Marston, 1867.

63. Charles Hall revisits the Frobisher sites and receives the oral tradition about Frobisher with the help of Ebierbing and Tookoolito, 1860-62.

(65) Hall, Charles Francis. Life With the Esquimaux: The Narrative of Captain Charles Hall, of the Whaling Barque "George Henry," From 29 May, 1860, to 13th of September, 1862. 2 Vols. London: Samson Low, Son and Marston, 1864. (Edmonton: M. H. Hurtig, 1970.)

64. Whalers make a whole series of voyages to Hudson Bay, 1860-1915.

(66) Ross, Gillies. Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860-1915. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, Publications in Ethnology, No. 10, 1975.

65. C. F. Hall expedition to King William Island to determine what the Inuit had to say about the fate of the Franklin expedition, 1864-69.

(67) Nourse, J. E., ed. Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition Made by Charles F. Hall: His Voyage to Repulse Bay, Sledge Journeys to the Straits of Fury and Hecla and to King William's Island, and Residence Among the Eskimos During the Years 1864-69. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879.

66. Father Emile Petitot makes extensive visits to many parts of the Mackenzie area, 1864-72.

(68) Savoie, Donat, ed. The Amerindians of the Canadian North-west in the 19th Century as Seen by Emile Petitot. Vol. 1. Les Esquimaux: Tchiglet. Vol. II. The Loucheux Indians. Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, D.I.A.N.D., 1970.

(69) Department of Education. The Book of the Dene Containing the Traditions and Beliefs of Chipewyan, Dogrib, Slavey and Loucheux People. Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1976.

67. Whalers winter and explore Devon Island and revisit Cumberland and Lancaster Sound, 1865-66.

(70) Philpots, Edward P. An Account of the Wintering Voyage of the Ship Queen of Peterhead. Peterhead: Scott and Walker (Sentinel Office), 1867.

68. C. F. Hall's third voyage, 1871-73.

(71) Davis, C. H., ed. Narrative of the North Polar Expedition, U.S. Ship Polaris, Captain Charles Francis Hall Commander. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876.

(72) Blake, E. Vale, ed. Arctic Experience: Containing Captain George E. Tyson's Wonderful Drift on the Ice Floe; a History of the Polaris Expedition; the Cruise of the Tigress and Rescue of the Polaris Survivors. To Which is Added a General Arctic Chronology. New York: Harper and Bro., 1874.

69. Jean Seguin succeeds Grollier at Fort Good Hope and travels extensively, 1862-73.

70. William Bompas (Anglican) first went to Fort Simpson in 1865. He was consecrated Bishop of Athabasca in 1874, Bishop of the Mackenzie in 1884, and a further division was made in 1891.

71. British Polar expedition under Nares, 1875-76.

(73) Nares, Sir George Strong. Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea During 1875-76 in H.M. Ships "Alert" and "Discover" With Notes on the Natural History. 2 Vols. Edited by H. W. Feilden. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1878.

(74) Markham, Albert Hastings. The Great Frozen Sea. A Personal Narrative of the Voyage of the "Alert" During the Arctic Expedition of 1875-76. London: Daldy, Isbister and Co., 1878.

(75) Black, Patrick. Survey in High Lattitudes: An Attempt to Explain the Cause of the "Medical Failure" of the Arctic Expedition of 1875-76. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1876.

(76) Young, Allen William. The Two Voyages of the "Pandora" in 1875 and 1876. London: Edward Stanford, 1879.

72. Schwatka travels with the Inuit to King William Island, 1878-80.

(77) Schwatka, Frederick. The Long Arctic Search: The Narrative of Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka, U.S.A., 1878-80 Seeking the Records of the Lost Franklin Expedition. Edited by Edouard A. Stackpole. Mystic: Munston Institute of American Marine History, The Marine Historical Association, Inc., 1965.

List of Expeditions and Related Journals: 1880-1925

1. United States Polar Year Contribution led by Greely and Richard Pike, 1881-84.

(1) Greely , Adolphus Washington. Three Years of Arctic Service. An Account of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition of 1881-84 and the Attainment of the Farthest North. 2 Vols. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1886.

(2) Brainard, David Legge. Six Came Back; the Arctic Adventures of David L. Brainard. Edited by Bessie Rowland James. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1940.

(3) Lanman, Charles. Furthest North, or, the Life and Explorations of Lieutenant James Booth Lockwood of the Greely Arctic Expedition. New York: D. Appelton and Co., 1885.

2. British Polar Year Expedition with Henry P. Dawson at Fort Rae, 1882-83.

(4) Dawson, H. P. Observations of the International Polar Year Expedition, 1882-83. Fort Rae. London: Trubner and Co., 1886.

3. Second Greely Expedition under Ernest A. Garlington, 1883.

(5) Garlington, Ernest Albert. Report on the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition of 1883. Washington City: Signal Office, 1883 (U.S. Army Signal Corps, Signal Service Notes #10).

4. Captain Mahlstede takes Franz Boas to Baffin Island in the German Anthropological expedition, 1883-84.

(6) Boas, Franz. "The Central Eskimo." Bureau of American Ethnology. Annual Report, 6th, 1884-85. Publication 1888, pp. 399-699.

5. Third Greely expedition finally rescue the seven survivors of the first, 1884.

(7) Schley, Winfield S., and Soley, J. R. The Rescue of Greely. New York: C. Scribner. London: Sampson Low and Rivington, 1885.

6. The First Canadian Hudson Bay expedition by Gordon and Bell, 1884-85.

(8) Gordon, Andrew Robertson. "Report of the Hudson Bay Expedition Under the Command of Lieutenant A. R. Gordon, R.N., 1884." Canada Department of Mines and Fisheries, Annual Report, 17th, 1884. Appendix 30, pp. 189-228. (Canada: Parliamentary Sessional Papers, #9, Vol. 6, 1885.)

7. Warburton Pike visits the Back River, 1890.

(9) Pike, Waburton. The Barren Grounds of Northern Canada. London: Macmillan and Co., 1892.

8. The Tyrrells travel from Lake Athabasca through the Keewatin retracing portions of territory covered by Stewart (1715) and Hearne (1769-72), 1893. (C. 849)

(10) Tyrrell, James William. Across the Sub-Arctics of Canada. A Journey of 3,200 Miles by Canoe and Snowshoe Through the Barren Lands. London: J. Fisher Unwin, 1898.

9. Frank Russell of University of Iowa visits the Mackenzie District, 1893-94.

(11) Russell, Frank. Explorations in the Far North. Being the Report of an Expedition Under the Auspices of the University of Iowa During the Years 1892, 93 and 94. Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1898.

10. Caspar Whitney leads a hunting expedition to area east of Great Slave Lake, 1894-95.

(12) Whitney, Caspar. On Snowshoes to the Barren Grounds. Twenty-eight Hundred Miles After Musk-Oxen and Wood Bison. London: Osgood McIlvaine and Co., 1896.

11. Edmund James Peck and J. C. Parker establish Anglican missions in Baffin Island, 1894-96.

(13) Lewis, Arthur. The Life and Work of E. J. Peck Among the Eskimos. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.

12. Geological survey of Canada expedition under Robert Bell, 1897.

(14) Bell, Robert. "Report of an Exploration on the Northern Side of Hudson Strait." Geological Survey of Canada, Annual Report, N.S., Ottawa, Vol. 2, 1898 (pub. 1901), Section M.

13. Athabasca and Peace River Treaty Expedition of 1899 and 1921.

(15) Mair, Charles. Narrative of the Athabasca and Peace River Treaty Expeditions of 1899.

(16) Fumoleau, Rene. *As Long as This Land Shall Last*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973.

14. *Peary establishes base for a rush to the Pole and reaches 84 deg. plus, 1898-1902 and 1805-06*.

(17) Peary, Robert Edwin. *Nearest the Pole. A Narrative of the Polar Expedition of the Peary Arctic Club in the S.S. Roosevelt, 1905-06*. London: Hutchinson and Co., 1907.

15. *Sverdrup leads a Norwegian Arctic Expedition Party, 1898-1902*.

(18) Sverdrup, Otto Neumann. *New Land: Four Years in the Arctic Regions*. 2 Vols. London and New York: Longman's Green, 1904.

16. *British exploring expedition to the Keewatin under Hanbury, 1899*.

(19) Hanbury, David Theophilus. *Sport and Travel in the Northland of Canada*. London: Edward Arnold, 1904.

17. *Geological survey of Canada expedition to Mackenzie, 1902*.

(20) Camsell, Charles. *Son of the North*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954.

18. *British exploring party under Crawford Noble visits South Baffin, 1902*.

(21) Millward, A. E., ed. *Southern Baffin Island. An Account of Exploration, Investigation and Settlement During the Past Fifty Years. With an Appendix "The Crossing of Baffin Island to Foxe Basin by Bernard A. Hentzsch in 1910."* Ottawa: Department of the Interior, N.W.T. and Yukon Branch, 1930.

19. *Amundsen sails the Goja through a Northwest Passage, 1903-06*.

(22) Amundsen, Roald. *The Northwest Passage*. London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1908.

20. *Canadian Arctic Patrol under Bernier establishes police headquarters at Churchill, 1904-05*.

(23) Bernier, Joseph Elzear. *Report on the Dominion of Canada Government Expedition to the Arctic Islands and Hudson Strait on Board the DGS "Arctic."* Ottawa: Dominion Government Printing Office, 1910.

(24) Steele, Harwood. *Policing the Arctic. The Story of the Conquest of the Arctic by the Royal Canadian (formerly North-West) Mounted Police*. London: Jarrolds, 1936.

21. *British, private expedition under Harrison maps the Eskimo Lakes region, 1905-07*.

(25) Harrison, Alfred H. In Search of the Polar Continent. London: Edward Arnold, 1908.

22. Stewart visits Kutchin and Mackenzie Delta areas, 1906.

(26) Stewart, Elihu. Down the Mackenzie and Up the Yukon in 1906. London: John Lake and Bodly Head, 1913.

23. Stefansson leads the United States Anthropological expedition to the Delta of the Mackenzie, 1906-07.

(27) Stefansson, Vilhjalmur. Hunters of the Great North. London: George C. Harrap, 1923.

24. United States exploring expedition under Seton looks at the area from Great Slave Lake to the Back River area, 1907.

(28) Seton, Ernest Thompson. The Arctic Prairies. London: Constable, 1912.

25. United States Polar expedition under Frederick Cook to the Pole, 1907-09.

(29) Cook, Frederick Albert. My Attainment of the Pole; Being the Record of the Expedition that First Reached the Boreal Center 1907-09 With a Final Summary of the Polar Controversy. London: Arlen and Co., 1911.

26. Robert Peary also claims to be first to the Pole, 1909.

(30) Peary, Robert Edwin. The North Pole: Its Discovery in 1909 Under the Auspices of the Peary Arctic Club. New York: Frederick A.

(31) Henson, Matthew A. A Black Explorer at the North Pole. An Autobiographical Report by the Negro Who Conquered the Top of the World With Admiral Robert E. Peary. New York: Walker and Co., 1969.

27. The American Museum of Natural History and the Geological Survey of Canada sponsor Stefansson, 1908-12.

(32) Stefansson, Vilhajalmur. My Life With the Eskimos. New York: Macmillan, 1913.

28. Julian Bilby and Fleming establish further Anglican missions in Baffin Island, 1909-11.

(33) Fleming, Archibald Lang. Archibald the Arctic. New York: Appleton Century Crofts, Inc., 1956.

29. Hantzsch circumnavigated Lake Nettilling in inner Baffin, 1909-11.

(34) Hantzsch, Bernhard Adolph. *My Life Among the Eskimos: The Baffin Inland Journals of Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch, 1909-11*. Edited by L. H. Neatby. Saskatoon: Institute for Northern Studies, 1977.

30. *Canadian geological expedition under the leadership of Douglas, 1911-12*.

(35) Douglas, George Mellis. *Lands Forlorn: A Story of An Expedition to Hearne's Coppermine River*. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914.

31. *Harry Radford and Thomas Street travel from the Mackenzie to Bathurst Inlet but are killed by the Inuit, 1911-12*.

(36) Adam, C. I. "The Bathurst Inlet Patrol." *Royal Canadian Mounted Police Quarterly*, 16, no. 1, July, 1950, pp. 12-25.

32. *Mason leads a Canadian Anthropological expedition to the Great Slave Lake area, 1913*.

(37) Mason, John Alden. "Notes on the Indians of the Great Slave Lake Area." *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, no. 34, 1946.

33. *MacMillan leads a U.S. expedition to visit "Crocker Land," 1913-17*.

(38) MacMillan, Donald Baxter. *Four Years in the White North*. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1919.

34. *Stefansson carries out travel in the Western Canadian Arctic, 1913-18*.

(39) Stefansson, Vilhajalmur. *The Friendly Arctic: The Story of Five Years in the Polar Regions*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921.

35. *Camsell of the Geological Survey of Canada expedition, 1914*.

(40) Camsell, Charles. "An Exploration of the Tazin and Taltson Rivers, Northwest Territories." *Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 84* (No. 69 Geological Series), 1916.

36. *North West Mounted Police investigate the fate of Fathers Rouviere and Leroux, 1915-17*.

(41) Lanauze, Charles D. "A Police Patrol in the North-west Territories of Canada." *Geographical Journal* 51 (May, 1918): 316-23.

37. *Royal North West Mounted Police investigation of the fate of Crawford, 1916-18*.

(42) French, Francis Henry. *Report of the Bathurst Inlet Patrol, Royal Northwest Mounted Police, 1917-18*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1919.

38. Knud Rasmussen, Anarulanquaq and Miteq make a 20,000 mile trip across and along the Arctic coast from Greenland to Alaska, 1921-25 in the Fifth Thule Expedition.

(43) Rasmussen, Knud. Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition. New York: Putnam's, 1927.

APPENDIX B

Dene and Inuit Dramatis Personae Identified

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1. Aaniapik - Inuit who accompanied Penny to Kingoua.

2. Aaron - From Kangeq, Greenland, who depicted the first attack of the Skraeling on the West Settlement (Inuit).

3. Aarsinga - Husband of Angina in the Kane expedition (Inuit).

4. Abliluktuk - Inuit who visited Ross in 1830.

5. Adam, Jean Baptiste - Chipewyan Bois Brule who accompanied Franklin, 1819-22.

6. Adelik - Old Inuit woman who daily visited *Victory*.

7. Adlekok - Young Netsilik who directed Schwatka to the Hall cairn near the Pfeffer River.

8. Agathas - Cree mother of William Kennedy.

9. Agina - One of the two Greenlandic Inuit who met Qitlarssuaq when the latter visited Greenland.

10. Ahlangyah (Ahlandmyuck) - Inuit whom Gilder said saw five white men drawing sledges on King William Island.

11. Akaitcho (Ekihcho, Gross Pied, Confident) - Yellowknife chief from 1819-1867.

12. Ak-chuk-er-zhun - Inuit who accompanied Hall to Niountelik Island in Frobisher Bay in 1861.

13. Aladoonga - Inuit boy whom Snow wanted to take home with him from Cape York.

14. Albert One Eye - Inuit guide for Richardson. Albert died at Coppermine.

15. Alequa - Returnee from the Qitdlarssuaq expedition of 1865.

16. Alictu - Old Inuit invalid whom John Ross said was good

company.

17. Alick - Chipewyan who drew a canoe route from Lake Athabasca to Great Slave Lake in the time of Hearne and Turnor.

18. Amalatok - Met the Hayes' expedition (Inuit).

19. Amingo - Wife of Kanayoke. Visited Ross' *Victory*.

20. Angeit - 12 year old brother of Hans Hendrik's wife.

21. Anglice (Laroque) - Hare guide for Thomas Simpson.

22. Annawa - Inuit who related to Hall why the Inuit never went near the islands near Lok's land.

23. Angina - Inuit woman whom Kane accused of stealing goods.

24. Annoethai-yazzeh - Brother of Akaitcho.

25. Anthone, Christian - Greenlandic Inuit who accompanied the *Pandora* in 1875.

26. Appokiok - Remembered ships of Parry's third expedition (Inuit).

27. Arloodloong - Inuit who told Hall about the location of Frobisher's anvil.

28. Armou - Inuit who drew a map of the area from Lancaster Sound to Churchill for Hall in 1865.

29. Arna-loo-a - Wife of Koo-i-lit-teuk. Lyon sketched her.

30. Arrutsak - Greenlandic Inuit who welcomed Qitdlarssuaq to Greenland.

31. Artarkparu - Gave evidence to Hall which confirmed that of Ookijoxy Ninoo.

32. Artooa - Gave evidence about the fate of the Franklin expedition to Hall in 1864.

33. Ar-tung-un - Told Hall of the four white men of the Franklin

expedition that fired guns on the mainland.

34. Attua (Attawa) - Chief of the Inuit who met McClure and Miertsching.

35. Augustina - Daughter of Hans Hendrik who was aboard the Polaris and the ice flow.

36. Augustus-Tattannoeuk - Inuit interpreter for the first two Franklin expeditions.

37. Avalldamen - Kings of the Skraeling as told by the two Skraeling boys to Karlsefni.

38. Awahtok - Welcomed Kane and party to Anoatok in 1854.

39. A-wah-lah - McClintock met this Inuit at the village of Kaparoktolik.

40. Awa-run-ni - Wife of Toolemak who met Parry at Igloolik.

41. Aviluktuq - First Inuit to see Ross' ship in 1829.

42. Ayoket - Met Lyon and Parry on their visit to Winter Island and Igloolik.

43. Ayug-galook - Attempted to steal articles from Parry but was caught according to Parry.

44. Bald Head - Chipewyan guide on the first Franklin expedition.

45. Beaulieu, Francois I - Father of Old Man Beaulieu, who accompanied Mackenzie to the Pacific coast.

46. Beaulieu, Francois II (or, Old Man Beaulieu) - Met Franklin's party on the second Franklin expedition.

47. Beaulieu, Pierre - Accompanied Grollier on a mission to the Dogrib.

48. Beck, Adam - Reported a false story in 1850-51 while serving as interpreter to John Ross.

49. Black Meat - Chipewyan guide for Franklin in 1819-22.

50. Blind George (or Paulooyer) - Confirmed the Frobisher story to C. F. Hall.

51. Boudel-kell - One of the three Yellowknives who rescued Franklin at Fort Enterprise.

52. Le Bourreau (or Vayd-sich-tchah - The Deer's Brother) - Met with a marauding group of Kutchin and out-tricked them, according to Hooper.

53. Bull, Johnny - Inuit so named by Parry and mentioned by Hall.

54. Calichoghe - Inuit male captive of Frobisher who brought him to England in 1577.

55. Caloosa (Erasmus York, Kallihuria) - Was guide to Ommaney. Returned to England to train as an interpreter.

56. Cecilia - Kutchin woman who taught that language to Seguin.

57. Cha-ha-in-na - A Chipewyan mentioned in the journals of Turnor and Hearne.

58. Charlot - A Chipewyan who drew a canoe route map for Turnor.

59. Chawchinahaw (Chee-chin-shaw, Chaw-China-shaw) - A Chipewyan who accompanied Hearne in 1769.

60. Cheepchow - Snow called him the Arctic postman who brought a message from Ommaney to Penny in 1850.

61. Christian, Anton - Greenlandic Inuit who served as interpreter for McClintock in 1857-59.

62. Christina - Inuit daughter of Hendrik.

63. Conne-e-quese (Connequese, Coneaquefe) - Unsuccessful guide for Hearne in 1769.

64. Coonook - Eenoolooapik married her on reaching Tenundiacbeek

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Bay.

65. Crooked Foot - Yellowknife guide who discovered the Franklin party at Fort Enterprise in 1821.

66. Denegonusye (Yaltyiyazi) - Chipewyan helper of Father Faraud.

67. Dog's Son - Chipewyan who held meeting of the peoples of the Mackenzie River as reported by Petitot.

68. Ebierbing (Eskimo Joe) - Served five Arctic expeditions as hunter and interpreter.

69. Edahadelly - Chipewyan guide of Thomas Simpson.

70. Edzo - Dogrib chief who opposed Akaitcho.

71. Ee-tkoo-yak - Hare who met Richardson at Coppermine in 1826.

72. Eenoolooapik (Inuluapik) - Befriended and aided Penny 1839-47.

73. Eider Duck, Mrs. - Befriended and adopted Kane.

74. Eihakkler - Chipewyan who aided Grollier.

75. Ekkeepeerea - Netsilik who told where one of Franklin's ships sank.

76. Ekodnelyel - Chipewyan informant of Petitot.

77. Ekunelyee - Taught Chipewyan to Petitot.

78. E-loud-ju-arng - Whom the Inuit said was particularly kind to the five escapees of Frobisher in 1577.

79. Emmanuel, Samuel - Greenlandic Inuit who served McClintock in 1857-59.

80. Aw-gee-nah (English Chief, Mis-ta-poose) - Chipewyan who served under Matonabbee and for fifty years served as chief.

81. Enna, Alexis - Chipewyan informant of Petitot.

82. Equeesik - Suggested to Schwatka how to meet the Netsilik in 1878-80.

83. Erktua - Informant to Hall in 1864, telling him of the flogging administered to an Inuit by Parry.

84. Ervick - One of the Inuit met by Ross on his first voyage of 1819.

85. Etu - One of the Baffin Inuit met by Hall in 1860.

86. E-vee-shuk - Informant to Hall on the fate of the Franklin expedition, 1869.

87. Ewerat - Drew a map of Melville Peninsula for Penny and Lyon in 1821-23.

88. Female Robinson Crusoe - Dogrib woman who lived alone for 6-8 months on the Barrens according to Hearne.

89. Flett, Mrs. Andrew - Kutchin at Fort McPherson who gave great aid to the Anglicans.

90. Federick the Eskimo - Greenlandic Inuit who served the Nares expedition.

91. Grand Jeune Homme - A Chipewyan who gave advice to Back on how to reach the Thlew-ee-choh River mouth.

92. Greenstockings - A girl over whom Hood and Back almost fought a duel (Yellowknife).

93. Hassel, Thomas - Chipewyan interpreter for Back and accidentally shot by James Evans.

94. Hendrik, Hans Christian - Greenlandic Inuit who served Kane, Hayes, Hall and Nares.

95. Hibluna (Owhee) - Plainest Inuit woman of the Netsilik of Ross.

96. The Hook - Brother of the Yellowknife Long Legs.

97. Houle, Madame - Aided Grollier.

98. Humpy - Elder brother of Akaitcho who also advised Franklin.

99. I-dot-le-aza - Hearne reported that this Chipewyan and Matonabbee visited the Coppermine and drew a map of how to get there in 1765.

100. Ignorth - The Inuit woman whom Frobisher captured and took to England in 1577.

101. Ikinnelikpatolok (Ookjoolik) - Told Schwatka he had seen Back's men in 1833-35.

102. Ikmalik - Inuit who attended Ross' night school in Boothia in 1832. Drew a map of Boothia. Called the Hydrographer.

103. Ikqueesik - Guide to Schwatka in 1878-80.

104. Iligliuk (Iligliak) - Inuit woman who drew a map of an area 600 miles distant for Lyon and Parry.

105. Illictu - One of the oldest Inuit reported by Ross in 1827-33.

106. Innook-shio - Guided Parry and Lyon into Igloolik in 1822-23.

107. Inoqusiaq - Returned with the Qitlarssuaq expedition from Greenland.

108. In-nook-poo-zhee-jook - Informant to both Rae and Hall on the final fate of the lost Franklin expedition.

109. Innuit Bob (or King-what-cheung) - Cared for the two sailors and saved the life of Captain Budington, 1856.

110. Innuit Charlie - Recovered the body of a lost English sailor for Hall in 1860.

111. Inoqusiaq - Returnee from Greenland of the Qitdlarssuaq expedition.

112. Ip-pee-ra-met - Collinson aboard the Investigator in 1851.

113. It-chinnah - Hare chief who had warned his people to be on the look-out for the Richardson party of 1826.

114. Ivitchuk - Superb hunter and guide for Rae.

115. Jacob - Inuit interpreter and Hunter for Hayes.

116. Junius (Huiturok, Hoeootoerock) - Inuit guide for the first Franklin expedition.

117. Kablunet - Mother-in-law of Merkut, wife of Hans Hendrik.

118. Kakikagiu - Netsilik who told Ross of Parry's ships.

119. Kia, Christian - A Slave who sheltered and taught Bompas.

120. Kai-moo-Khiak - Wife of Toolemak of Igloolik at the time of the visit of Lyon and Parry.

121. Kairoluak - Chief of Tuktoyaktuk when Miertsching and McClure visited.

122. Ka-Kee - Gave information to Parry and Lyon to get the latter into Igloolik.

123. Kalutunah - Head man of Netlik who gave aid to Kane and Hayes.

124. Kanayoke - Advised Ross on location of a western sea.

125. Karping - A Baffin Inuit who gave evidence to Hall about Frobisher's expedition.

126. Ka-oong-ut - Met by Parry in his journey of 1821-23 and father of Toolooah.

127. Kawalua - A sixteen year old Inuit whom Ross attempted to teach to read.

128. Kaweigack - Visited Ross aboard the Isabella.

129. Keelshies - A Chipewyan trade captain in the time of Matonabbee and Hearne.

130. Kenalualik - Inuit chief near Cape Bathurst who was met by Miertsching and McClure.

131. Kennedy, William - A Cree Metis who sought Franklin and was accompanied by Bellot.

132. Keskarrah - Brother to Akaitcho and father of Greenstockings.

133. Koo-choo-or-choo (Samson) - Visited the George Henry in winter quarters.

134. Khatchoti, Lizetta - Hare informant to Petitot.

135. Kia - Inuit informant to Hall.

136. King William - Son of Ebierbing and Tookoolito. Died May 13, 1866, on Hall expedition to King William Island.

137. Kob-big - Inuit informant to Hall.

138. Koh-lee-arg-nun (Kok-lee-arg-nun) - Visited the lost ships of Franklin. He described events -- when Franklin died and one of the ships that sank.

139. Konag - And wife, Kemig, visited Akkoolee in 1830-31.

140. Kongolek - Visitor and informant to Parry, 1831-33.

141. Koodloo - Hunter and guide for Hall when the latter went to the head of Frobisher Bay in 1861.

142. Koo-y-lit-teuk - A small statuted Inuit described by Lyon in 1822.

143. Koo-loo-a - Informant to Hall at North Ooglit Islands, 1868.

144. Kookooyer - Daughter of Blind George (Paulooyer) and Nukertou. Hall had to intercede with Ugarng for the child to be with Paulooyer in 1860.

145. Kooksmith - Described to Hall in 1860 how the Inuit said the five men of Frobisher raised a mast on their escape ship.

146. Koo-ou-le-arng - Inuit woman who accompanied Hall to find the 1578 coal at Niountelik Island.

147. Koojesse - Guide and informant to Hall on Baffin Island.

148. Koo-narng - Inuit woman who told Hall of the death of Franklin, visiting Franklin's ships and the sinking of one of the ships.

149. Kooperneung - Drew a map of the Frobisher Bay area for Hall in 1862.

150. Kooperarchu - Hall told of his death at the winter refuge of the *George Henry*.

151. Kosdaw - Chipewyan who accompanied Thompson in 1796.

152. Kudlago - Greenlandic Inuit guide who accompanied Hall on the first voyage of Hall but died before reaching Greenland.

153. Kunana - Successful hunter for John Ross and father of Illictu.

154. Kunatsiak - Described by Miertsching and McClure.

155. Lapie - A Kutchin whom Robert Campbell praises in 1838.

156. La Prise - Chipewyan guide of Back in 1835 expedition.

157. Le Camarade de Mandeville - Drew a sketch map for Back in 1833 at Salt River which advised of the location of the Thlew-ee-choh and Thelon Rivers.

158. Little Keg (Maccaconce) - A Hare who accompanied Simpson from Coppermine to Pollux Bay.

159. Long Legs - Yellowknife, brother of Akaitcho and received medal from Franklin for services rendered.

160. Macdonald, Mrs. Robert - Kutchin wife of the missionary -- taught Macdonald Kutchin.

161. MacKachy - A Chipewyan of whom Hearne writes 'was a sly and

artful villain' on the first Hearne expedition.

162. Mallette - Inuit chief at Point Barrow when Simpson arrived at that point on the Arctic coast.

163. Marcus - Inuit hunter hired by Hayes to accompany his expedition.

164. Man-nu - One of the Inuit of whom the oral tradition said saw the five escaped men of Frobisher.

165. Mang-il-ya - Informant to Lyon and Igloolik in 1822.

166. Mam-mark - Remembered William Ooglibuck and how the latter tried to escape from Rae. Told Hall.

167. Marshuick - Boarded Ross' ships in 1819.

168. Mashvoek - Snow reported story in which Mashvoek was the Inuit chief of the natives who eliminated Franklin and crew in 1850. The story on later investigation proved to be untrue.

169. Matonabbee - Friend and guide to Hearne. Great traveller who became head of all the Northern Indians to 1782.

170. Matoudiau - Kutchin who traded with the Russians and served as middleman in trade with the Inuit.

171. Maufelly - Guide to George Back in 1833-35.

172. Meigack - Part of the second party which came to see Ross in 1819 and again in 1832.

173. Mercredi, Father - First Chipewyan Roman Catholic priest.

174. Mercredi, Pierre - Chipewyan who became factor at Fort Smith, Fort Rae and Fort Resolution after 1862.

175. Mersuk (Merkuk) - Wife of Hans Hendrik, who accompanied Hayes and also the Polaris expedition.

176. Merqusaq - He who told Rasmussen about Qitdlarssuaq.

177. Metek - Head man of Etah who aided Kane and Hayes.

178. Michel - Iroquois who was accused of killing Hood and summarily shot by Richardson.

179. Mierkut - Described by Hayes.

180. Millactu - Visited Ross' ship. Had crippled leg and wished to trade for a wooden one.

181. Mistegan, Thomas (Misteagun, Mistagan) - Hunter for Rae, Richardson and James Anderson.

182. Mingumailo - The Angekok whose practices on Baffin, Hall described.

183. Mokko - Inuit captain of the Soowoomba described by Schawatka.

184. Munroe - Inuit interpreter for Rae, 1853-54.

185. Myouk - Inuit who worked with Kane, Hayes and served as informant in the Hartstone rescue.

186. Nabitabo (Nepitabo, Nepetabo, Nibitabo) - Cree middlemen and hunter for the Rae expedition of 1846-47.

187. Nahanni Chieftaness - Saved Robert Campbell from the Shakes (west coastal Athapaskans) on several occasions.

188. Narlook - Inuit who attended Ross' night school in 1832 and made good progress.

189. Nak-ka-Khioo (Kettle, Bladder) - Had dealings with Parry and Lyon in 1822.

190. Nannaoo - Visitor to Lyon's ship in 1822 and informant to Lyon.

191. Narleyow - Guide and hunter for Schawatka.

192. Natioc - Child of Ignorth, both of whom were brought to England in 1577 by Frobisher.

193. Navaranaq - Greenlandic Inuit girl who agitated a quarrel between the Norse and Inuit in Greenland according to the oral tradition.

194. Naybyah - Chipewyan lieutenant to the Cheechinahaw of Hearne.

195. Nesark - Described by Hayes.

196. Neweetioke - Demonstrated killing of seal to John Ross.

197. Nikujar - Wife of Ugarng who drew a map for Hall of the Frobisher Bay area.

198. Nimna Himna - "Old Greedy" of Ross' Netsilik.

199. Ninguarping - Drew outline map of Kingaite side of Frobisher Bay for Hall in 1861.

200. Nipschank (Hammel) - Ebierbing's third wife who accompanied the Schwatka expedition of 1878-80.

201. Noogloo - Adopted son of Toolemak and described by Lyon.

202. Noodloo - Drew a map for Hall of Murray Maxwell Inlet, near the east end of Fury and Hecla Strait.

203. Nooluk (Nualik) - Wife of Metek of Eta during the Kane stay.

204. Nootaapik - Mother of Eenoolooapik of whom the latter was concerned about when he left for Aberdeen with Penny.

205. Norton, Mary - Daughter of Moses Norton who starved to death after the capture of Fort Prince of Wales in 1782.

206. Norton, Moses - Metis governor of Fort Prince of Wales until 1773.

207. Nukertoo - Hall described her death at the winter refuge of of George Henry.

208. Nulumuluk - Leader of the Anderson River Inuit at the time of Petitot's visit in 1865 (Noulloumallok).

209. Neeakoodloo - One of the few Sadlerk Inuit ever described and done so by Lyon in 1824.

210. Ny-yak-ka - Gave information to Parry and Lyon how to get to Igloolik, 1821-23.

211. Ockarnawole - Netsilik woman who served as informant to Schwatka.

212. Ogzeuchjeuwock - Gave information to Schawatka concerning the sinking of one of Franklin's ships.

213. Oo-ki-joxy Ni-noo - Matriarchal informant and grandmother of Ebierbing.

214. Okotook - Demonstrated to Parry and Lyon how the Inuit hunted seal.

215. Ooblooria - Described by Ross, McClintock and Rae. Guide to James Ross on trip to Neitchillee and Padliak.

216. Ookgooalloo - Drew a map of the northern part of Hudson Bay for Hall. Remembered Parry's ships of forty years before.

217. Ooligbuck (Ouligbuck, Oulligbuck, Oulybuck, Ullebuck) - Interpreter, guide and hunter for Franklin, Simpson and Rae.

218. Ooligbuck, William - Knew 10 languages and served Rae 1846-47, and 1853-54.

219. Ook-bar-loo - Old Inuit woman who gave testimony to Hall about the last Franklin expedition.

220. Oom-gna (Mrs. Kettle) - Lyon adopted her as mother. She tatooed a variety of figures on Lyon's arm in 1822.

221. Oo-na-lee - Drew a rough chart for McClintock in 1857. Also informant.

222. Oong-oo-too - Accompanied Hall to Repulse Bay in 1864.

223. Oo-oo-took - Had been punished by Parry for the theft of a shovel. Interpretation by Inuit was different than that given by Parry.

224. Ooping - The last Netsilik to visit (c1877) Cape Felix and Cape Jane Franklin before Schwatka.

225. Oo-shoo - Portrait drawn by Lyon on second voyage.

226. Oong-er-luk - Drew map of Admiralty Inlet for Hall.

227. Ootinah - Had wooden leg provided by North Star surgeon in 1850.

228. Ootuniah - Participated with Myouk and Kane in a hunt for walrus in 1854.

229. Ooyarra - An Inuit with whom Lyon stayed on a salmon hunt at Igloolik in 1822.

230. Ogé - Accompanied Qitdlarssuaq but with 20 others did not complete the trip to Greenland.

231. Otooniah - Boarded Ross' ship in 1819.

232. Ou-e-la - Gave evidence about Franklin to Hall at Repulse Bay in 1864.

233. Oule-eye - Yellowknife leader met by Hearne in 1770.

234. Ovaegir - Father of the captured Skraeling boys by Karlsefni.

235. Ow-wer - Gave information to Hall about the survival of Crozier.

236. Ow-wang-noot - Informant to Schwatka, who remembered Eenoolooapik.

237. Owinda - Adapted Dene daughter by Bompas.

238. Paddy - Chipewyan who accompanied Thompson in 1796.

239. Pakek - Described as an Inuit captain of a boat met by Warmow and Penny in 1857.

240. Pamiung - Informant for Stefansson who remembered Collinson's ships.

241. Papa-tew-a - Drew a map for Hall of Lyon's Inlet and Pond's Bay.

242. Paulik - Metek's nephew who was described by Kane.

243. Perowat (Peowat) - Gave testimony to Schwatka in 1878. Had seen Back in 1833-35 expedition.

244. Petato - Old Inuit woman who told of Frobisher's five lost men.

245. Peter - Inuit hunter for the Hayes' expedition.

246. Petit Pied - Stayed with Wentzel on the return trip from the Arctic coast to Fort Enterprise, 1821.

247. Pingasuk - "The Pretty One" born to the Hendriks.

248. Polaris, Charlie - Son of the Hendriks, born on the Polaris and endured the six and one-half month drift on the ice floe.

249. Poo-too-a-look - Lyon described her and how she died.

250. Poo-yet-tah - Guide to James Ross in 1830.

251. Pualuna - A returnee from the 1865 Qitdlarssuaq trip.

252. Puhtoorah - Told Schwatka about Back's exploration and the sinking of Franklin's ship at Grant Point.

253. Pow-weet-yah (Poweytag) - The death of his son almost caused a calamity for James Ross.

254. Puney - Daughter of Ebierbing and Tookoolito who died in the United States.

255. Puto - Was mother to 'white' child. Hall tells how she was treated by the Inuit.

256. Qangaq - Returnee from the Qitdlarssuaq trip.

257. Qitdlarssuaq (Kridluk) - Took 38 people from Baffin Island to Pitoravik. This story told to Rasmussen by Merqusaq.

258. Quaingaq - Returnee from the Qitdlarssuaq expedition.

259. Rabbit's Head - Step-son of Matonabbee. Met Franklin at Fort Chipewyan, 1820.

260. The Rat - One of the Chipewyan that rescued and cared for the Franklin party at Fort Enterprise in 1821.

261. Ritza - A Kutchin whom Robert Campbell praises.

262. Sackheuse, John - Inuit interpreter for John Ross, 1818.

263. Sanaindi - Dogrib chief who complained about Father Petitot.

264. St. Germain, Pierre - Chipewyan Bois Brule for Franklin, 1819-22.

265. See-gar - Told Hall that Crozier was well on his way to Fort Churchill in 1864.

266. Shakes - A Tlingit chief whom Robert Campbell said controlled trade over the southern Yukon and northern B.C. in 1838.

267. Shapataituk (Shipataitook) - Inuit chief who befriended Bompas at Anderson River.

268. Shew-dethe-da - Drew map of Great Slave Lake for Turnor, 1790.

269. Shevikoo - Inuit who made a reply to the outburst by the captain of the George Henry as reported by Hall.

270. Shoo-she-ark-nuk - Gave evidence to Hall at Repulse Bay in 1864.

271. Shovel Jack - An Inuit who attempted to steal from Pullen and Hooper in 1849 along the Alaskan coast.

272. Sieva - Wife of Metek who stole from Kane in 1854.

273. Sipsu - Hayes described his death.

274. Sinclair, James - Metis guide and hunter for Thomas Simpson.

275. Sharkey - Inuit who with Koojesse accompanied Hall into Frobisher Bay in 1862.

276. Shung-hu (Shangha) - Father of Mersuk who was married to Hendrik.

277. Sacci - Inuit child of Hendrik. Endured the ice floe voyage.

278. Sio-Kobeut - Inuit described by Parry.

279. Sioutkuk - Son of Okotook and brother to Iligliuk and Toolooak -- described by Parry.

280. Suzhi - Informant to Hall about the Frobisher relics.

281. Swan (Wa-pu-su) - Brought the first gum or pitch from Athabasca to Churchill.

282. Takachikima - Son of Shipataitook and told of Bompas' visit to Stringer.

283. Takkeekikeeta - Had his wife and child die. Parry described his mourning.

284. Tatekoye (Big Head) - First Hare to be baptized by Petitot in 1864.

285. Tattaret - Aided Kane and Hayes.

286. Tes-su-win - Drew map of area from Fox Channel to Hudson Bay in 1860 for Hall.

287. Terregannoeuck (White Fox) - Only Inuit met by Franklin on his 1820 trip to the Coppermine.

288. Thanadelthur - "Ambassadress of Peace" who established connections between the Chipewyan and Churchill.

289. Thlew-sa-nell-ie - A Chipewyan who brought mail from

Churchill to Hearne on the Barrens in 1770.

290. Tiriksui - Drew map for John Ross in 1835.

291. Tobias - Son of Hendrik aboard the Polaris.

292. Togor-lat (Togolat) - Wife of Ewerat and mother of Toben-rat and described by Lyon.

293. Tookoolito (Taqulitu, Hanah, Hannah) - Half sister of Eenoolooapik and wife of Ebierbing. Accompanied three expeditions.

294. Took-toocher - Netsilik informant to Schwatka.

295. Toolemak - Guided the Lyon party up Lyon Inlet in 1822.

296. Toolooah - Informant and hunter for Schwatka in 1878-80.

297. Toolooakelek - Wife of Toolooah who accompanied Schwatka.

298. Toolooak - Lyon described Toolooak's great capacity for eating and his ability to learn.

299. Toolowak - Leader of the Arctic Highlanders who met Ross in 1818.

300. Too-loo-ka-ah - Drew accurate maps for Hall in the Frobisher Bay area.

301. Tooseigo - The Hare who saw strange chips of wood on the Mackenzie River at the time of the coming of the first white men according to Petitot.

302. Too-shoo-art-tlar-iu - Took care of Crozier when the latter was found in starving condition according to Inuit report.

303. Toto - Brother of Eenoolooapik and Tookoolito. Apparently was well travelled in England.

304. Too-toose - Labelled by Turnor as the greatest war chief of the Chipewyans in 1790-92.

305. Toqueiyazi - Aid to Grollier in 1857.

306. Tripe de Roche - A Chipewyan who requested the presence of an Anglican minister or mission in the Hay River area.

307. Tsepan-khe - A Yellowknife called "Child Raised by the Grandmother" who lived in the Great Slave area in 1863.

308. Tuk-e-lik-e-ta - Child of Ebierbing and Tookoolito. Born in 1861 and died in New York in 1863.

309. Tuktoocheeah - Inuit informer to Schwatka.

310. Tulloowah - Arctic Highlander leader as reported by John Ross in 1818.

311. Tulluahiu (Tulluahui) - Wooden leg provided by Ross to this Netsilik Inuit in 1832.

312. Tung-nuk - Inuit informant to Hall.

313. Tu-nuk-der-lien - Inuit woman who accompanied Hall to Niountelik Island in 1861.

314. Tweroong - Drew a map for Hall of the Frobisher Bay area and the north shore of Hudson Strait.

315. Ugarng - Uncle of Ebierbing and chief of the Inuit along the north shore of Hudson Strait.

316. Uvaegi - Father of the two Skraeling boys that were captured by Karlsefni.

317. Valdidida - A Skraeling King according to the two Inuit boys captured by Karlsefni.

318. Vaetild (Vaetilldi) - Mother of the Skraeling boys captured by Karlsefni.

319. Vitoedh, Sylvian - Hare informant to Petitot.

320. Yelta-netel - Dogrib informant to Petitot.

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Related Work Experience

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